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Schmidt strives to mend US relations



Since the beginning of March, Chancellor Schmidt has taken every chance to underline the strength of ties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States.

At a recent function in Hamburg, Herr Schmidt said the "German-American consensus is unshakeable." He made the same point in his State of the Nation speech to the Bundestag, adding that "the bases of our friendship are historical, philosophical and personal ties and the close similarity between our political and social values."

President Carter spontaneously rang up the Chancellor to thank him for this remark.

The relationship between Bonn and Washington is less strained now than in the previous weeks and months. But have the causes of the cooling of relations been removed?

Certainly the Chancellor's demonstrative emphasis on traditional ties and dependency between the two nations cannot be due to a sudden agreement on such vital points at issue as economic policy.

On the contrary, the increasing differences between the two countries on this and the continuing unimpeded slide of the dollar have led to fears of a deep crisis of confidence.

Prominent visitors to America such as Minister of Economic Affairs Graf Lambsdorff and Minister of State in the Foreign Office Dohnanyi have returned to Bonn alarmed at American disquiet about their allies in Bonn.

This follows a year of public and private disagreements between the two governments on such fundamental issues as human rights, nuclear policy and the fight against the recession. The Chancellor has now persuaded his Cabinet colleagues to take a more moderate view of American policy to avoid any further flare-up in German-American relations, or to prevent journalists speculating on one.

Washington also moderated its tone. Finance Minister Blumenthal played down the negative outcome of his discussions in Bonn when he returned to the US and expressed his understanding of Bonn's policy of not risking inflation by forcing through a growth policy too quickly.

Then came the second dollar rescue plan and again there was a show of unity between the two governments.

This should not blind us to the fact that President Carter has been at loggerheads with Bonn, particularly on three completely different issues to which he attaches great importance: how to achieve an economic upswing, nuclear policy and human rights.

The worry that the serious disagreements on these issues could even affect the Western alliance cannot be lightly dismissed, although President Carter has so far stuck rigidly to the his principle that Nato is the core of American foreign policy.

The question now is whether President Carter is not about to attempt once again to realise his goals in these three fields. Carter does not give up easily. In May last year the London conference ended with a formula for overcoming the economic crisis taken from Helmut Schmidt's armoury of measures to ensure stability.

Still, Bonn has since been under constant pressure from the US to reflate the German economy. The American want the Germany economy to be the locomotive, or at least in the vanguard, of worldwide recovery.

This summer another economic summit is being held in Bonn. We can only speculate on the measures that will come before this meeting.

The question of the German-Brazilian nuclear deal which had so disturbed America seemed to have been dealt with to everyone's satisfaction at the London conference.

Now it looks as if this dispute is about to flare up again. A US law which came into force this month is a continuation of the President's campaign against the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear technology by legal means.

It gives the President wide-ranging powers to influence the civil nuclear energy policies of all states which use American uranium directly or indirectly in their atomic energy plants.

Each country receiving American uranium will have to submit to controls and regulations applying to all plants where American uranium is used as fuel.

Recipient countries will need American permission to reprocess this uranium. Plutonium is a product of this reprocessing and can be used in the production of nuclear energy.



Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and US Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher in a jovial mood during a break in their talks in Hamburg. (Photo: dpa)

All current contracts, regardless of how long they run, will have to be renewed or, more precisely, annulled. This includes the agreement with the European Atomic Energy Authority, which runs until 1995.

The members of the European Economic Community have to agree to renegotiate by April 10. These talks are going to be tough because Carter has already introduced a law anticipating the agreement which the INFCE was to have reached by 1979. This conference was called into being on President Carter's initiative.

The French are utterly against any declaration of intent towards the USA. They remain loyal to their 1976 proclamation that "France intends to remain master of its own nuclear policy."

Bonn cannot afford to take this line. It is inclined to agree with the President's demands, and willing to cooperate. But the Bonn government is heading for difficulties.

Brazil is to get a German-built reprocessing plant for spent nuclear rods. The international controls to prevent the use of this material for military purpose are generally considered exemplary.

On the other hand, once this plant has been built America will hardly allow the buyers of its uranium to supply Brazil with re-exports. This country has committed itself to selling the Brazilians not only atomic energy plants but also uranium.

But Bonn cannot even send the Brazilians uranium from non-American sources because it risks an American embargo. The Americans are attempting to achieve total domination of the use of nuclear energy for civil purposes. Can another collision with Bonn be averted?

Carter certainly had this problem in mind when he visited Brazil last week. At the moment Bonn is acting as if nothing has happened, relying on the American promise to honour all current contracts until the autumn of 1979.

But this Bonn attitude also reflects the feeling that President Carter is unpredictable. They way he deals kaleidoscopically with different problems at once, his inclination to reform and his volatility are confusing — and not only for Bonn.

His foreign policy planning is marred by conflicting ideologies and concepts which in turn reflect the differences between his new advisers and the old administration. The result is uncertainty and a certain vagueness.

The neutron bomb is another example. Carter did not want to go ahead with its production until he had a firm statement of approval from his European allies. However, his allies are hesitant, and it seems that Carter is no longer too sure of what his policy should be. He is now considering postponing production of the weapon, even though his European allies have not all finally stated their position.

The surprise visit of American Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Europe was obviously meant as a sounding-out exercise on what counter-measures the US should demand from the Soviet Union in return for not installing

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Neutron bomb hovers over Genscher and Christopher

Deputy US Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived at Bonn's Foreign Ministry for wide-ranging talks with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on 30 March.

The agenda included all current international and bilateral issues as well as developments in the Middle East and Southern Africa.

A major topic was also the neutron bomb (recently backed by the *New York Times*) on which the West European nations differ with Washington.

Mr Christopher, who had come from Ankara, was to meet Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at his Hamburg home the next day.

His visit to Hamburg evidently had to do with smoothing Bonn-Washington relations, which have shown some strain in the past few weeks.

Chancellor Schmidt gave the signal for the meeting on 3 March when he said in Hamburg: "German-American consensus is unshakeable."

State Secretary Cyrus Vance, publicly applauded by Herr Genscher, had expressed himself similarly a few days earlier.

But this alone does not eliminate tactical differences, for instance on the neutron issue.

President Carter is evidently disappointed that the European Nato members have not yet publicly supported the *start of production of the neutron* device.

According to information from Washington, the President has postponed his decision on production.

He apparently fears that the May Extraordinary General Assembly of the UN on disarmament will expose him to Moscow's expected propaganda attack on the neutron weapon. This has increased his desire for public European approval of the device.

This is also why Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher gave such importance to explaining Bonn's attitude, which has the approval of the Cabinet and the Federal Security Council.

Bonn feels the United States should start neutron bomb production — initially without a formal European blessing.

Between the start of production and the stationing in Europe, the neutron device is to be included in the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

Should Moscow not be prepared to make substantial concessions in return fro an abolishment of the neutron bomb (perhaps with regard to tanks or the medium-range SS 20 missile) there would be no option but to station the neutron device in Europe.

This line has the approval of the FDP. The CDU-CSU goes even further in its positive attitude towards the device. But Herr Schmidt has to be circumspect vis-a-vis his own party, the SPD.

According to the party congress resolution of November 1977, the SPD wants — for moral, strategic and political reasons — to "create conditions that would obviate the necessity of stationing the neutron bomb on West German territory."

Given a clever line of argument, Herr Schmidt feels this would enable him to back up his Government's course.

And, indeed, the opponents of the neutron bomb within his party have become somewhat more restrained recently.

The SPD disarmament expert Alfons Pawelczyk has said that Moscow should be made concrete offers. But if the Soviets refuse to make concessions in the conventional armaments sector, a gradual introduction of the neutron device would have to be agreed upon.

Bundeswehr Brigadier Christian Krause wrote in the SPD weekly *Vorwärts* that the new weapon could show how seriously the West still takes détente.

"Granted, the end of détente need not mean war. But it would certainly not mean more security," he said.

Bernt Conrad
(Die Welt, 31 March 1978)

US relations

Continued from page 1

neutron bombs on European cities — whether to insist on a reduction of tank assault capacity or a reduction of the number of middle-range SS-20 missiles.

On March 17 Carter made a surprisingly aggressive speech at Wake Forest University in which he said he was even prepared to let the SALT talks collapse if the Soviet Union did not slow down arms production and stop intervention in Africa. This revealed that the President is prepared for confrontation if necessary. Warren's visit to Europe indicated greater flexibility.

Given such surprising moves, observers can only speculate on the basic direction of American foreign policy. The Bonn government has concluded that its best policy is to pursue its own interests in spite of Carter and to avoid getting involved in the meanderings of his foreign policy. Bonn's tone has sometimes been tougher than necessary here.

The return to a more conciliatory and tolerant tone is a recognition of the diplomatic imperative to keep on good terms with Europe's most important ally.

There is no denying that there are major conflicts of interest between the two countries. All we can hope for is that in future both sides will show more willingness to compromise. We must also hope that the consensus in all vital matters remains "unshakeable".

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, 31 March 1978)

Schmidt looks for nuclear middle path

The neutron bomb will not be the only delicate subject between Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and US Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Hamburg.

Bonn and Washington are still at odds on nuclear policy and a new clash is possible, President Carter having recently made it legally possible to embargo nuclear fuel for states not prepared to go along with his non-proliferation ideas.

The law passed by the Senate makes the treaties between the European Community and the United States worthless.

Washington has threatened that, unless Europe agrees to new talks by 10 April, it will retaliate by stopping the supply of uranium.

In this critical phase, Helmut Schmidt is trying to overcome his irritation and avoid an open dispute. There can be no doubt that Jimmy Carter holds the better hand.

The Chancellor now wants to probe the chances of a compromise that would meet Washington's security needs and not make Europe totally dependent.

According to the new US legislation, President Carter can not only demand the most stringent control of all nuclear installations, but can also claim a say in the construction of sensitive plants (enrichment and reprocessing) as well as the export of installations.

France, less dependent on uranium shipments than Germany, indignantly rejected these impositions.

Bonn has no choice but to react flexibly.

Helmut Schmidt has already met Jimmy Carter half-way with the concession that deals like that with Brazil will not be repeated.

But he insists that this deal be carried out and that America does not anticipate the outcome of the 1979 international conference on the assessment of nuclear fuel circulation.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 March 1978)

Bonn's long, long wait for Brezhnev

The Federal Government's interest in a visit to Bonn by Leonid Brezhnev is as great as ever, government spokesman Klaus Bölling said after recent reports from Moscow that a Brezhnev visit is becoming increasingly unlikely.

A Bonn diplomat observed less officially: "The whole thing is becoming more and more like the Loch Ness story."

No political event has been as frequently announced and cancelled in Bonn as Brezhnev's visit.

The invitation was first issued during Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit to Moscow in the autumn of 1974. It took two years before the project began to take shape.

Two weeks before the October 1976 Bundestag elections, the Soviet leader announced his visit. Chancellor Schmidt said it would take place as soon as possible after the elections. But it failed to materialise.

In November 1976, Bonn assumed that Brezhnev would come in the spring of 1977. This was followed by an October 1977 date.

The impression was that the postponements were due to Brezhnev's intention to first put some order into his relations with the United States — or, to be exact, with newly-elected President Jimmy Carter.

This concerned primarily the conclusion of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (Salt Two).

But in their diplomatic contacts with Bonn, the Soviets said the dealys were due to Brezhnev's tight schedule and his desire that concrete results be negotiated before his visit.

As the October date new near there was the kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer and the skyjacking of the Lufthansa jet *Landshut*. Brezhnev told Bonn that he felt the atmosphere was not right for a successful visit.

Then the Chancellor announced that the visit would take place at the end of November 1977. But this date also fizzled out.

Chancellor Schmidt became somewhat short-tempered. Privately he complained repeatedly that, although he had on many occasions emphasised the importance of Brezhnev's visit, the Soviet leader was leaving him in limbo.

This irritation got to the press, and Brezhnev reacted promptly, saying in a *Pravda* interview that he would visit Bonn "shortly".

But meanwhile Brezhnev's health was bad, and the Soviets informed Bonn at the end of 1977 that the Communist Party leader had 'flu but had recovered. Preparations for the visit began anew.

The Chancellery gave considerable thought to ways and means of "enriching" the talks. Helmut Schmidt considered proposals that would provide a better basis for economic relations with Moscow — particularly over the supply of raw materials to Germany. He suggested 16 to 19 February 1978 as the new date for the visit.

On 18 January he received the next cancellation. Ambassador Valentin Falin informed the Chancellor that Brezhnev's doctors had recommended postponing the visit because of his recent illness.

No-one outside the Kremlin knows how much Brezhnev's health has been restored. But German visitors to Moscow were repeatedly told in the past few weeks that Brezhnev had not changed his intention to visit Bonn. Dates were no longer mentioned.

Moscow-watchers in Bonn need no pointers from the Kremlin to realise that the cooling off of US-Soviet relations has not improved the chances of a visit.

There is every likelihood that Brezhnev intends to await further developments in international politics, above all the Washington Nato Summit in May.

Perhaps he also wants to demonstrate at this point that he can come to terms with Bonn even without America. And so the Chancellor is still waiting for a date.

Bernt Conrad
(Die Welt, 30 March 1978)

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Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel., 22 85 1, Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: 65 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn, Tel., 21 90 00. Telex: 08 86398.

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Balance of power between politicians, labour shifts

During the recent printing strike, two SPD MPs stood at the door of the SPD party offices in Bonn and called on their colleagues to give donations in support of the strike.

MPs had to pay a minimum of DM20, Ministers at least DM50, regardless of what they thought of the print union's strategy. They did not ask chancellor Schmidt for a contribution, so his neutrality remanded untainted.

Was this merely a demonstration od romantic "solidarity with their comrades?"

Parliamentary party leader Herbert Wehner objected because the excercise was "being turned into a TV show," but shoulder to shoulder with Willy Brandt, he read a joint statement of support for "the workers, their families and the trades unions."

Technical progress should not be forced through at the workers' cost and certainly not by means such as a lockout.

The FDP, on the other hand, had made no secret of the fact that employers should continue to have the right to lock workers out. This had led to the first public dispute between the jovial and conciliatory Holger Börner, Prime Minister of Hesse, and the FDP.

Is the SPD's traditional alliance with the trades unions — especially in times of crisis, as Wehner and Brandt put it — more important to it than its coalition with the Free Democrats?

There have been a number of significant shifts in the carefully constructed balance of power between parties, government and trades unions in the past months.

The decisive rift occurred when the employers' associations asked the Federal Constitutional Court to examine the constitutionality of the Co-determination Act. The trades unions responded to this move by pulling out of the *Konzertierte Aktion*, a consultative body consisting of leading representatives of the government, industry and the unions.

But this rift is not in itself enough to explain the rapid deterioration of the "social climate" which has led Herbert Wehner to warn of a process which could lead to "class confrontation."

There are powerful reasons for supposing that the SPD is underlining its ties with the unions, not to stir up new conflicts but to prevent them from moving too far towards such a confrontation.

Willy Brandt has been heard to remark that "Helmut Schmidt has there coalition partners, the DGB (The German Federation of Trades Unions), the FDP and the SPD — in that order."

Schmidt's first Cabinet looked, at least from a distance, something like a Labour government, which usually contains a number of Ministers with strong trade union connections. Now that Leber has resigned from the Ministry of Defence and Walter Arendt has left the Ministry of Labour all traces of this have vanished.

Helmut Rohde, former Minister and chairman of the SPD working party on labour questions, is now attempting to put pressure on the government from outside the Cabinet to strengthen its ties with the unions.

Chancellor Schmidt is equally aware of the danger of social conflicts and appreciates the difficulties of his extra-parliamentary coalition partner now that the unemployment figures are over the million mark.

He continually criticises the employers for their complaint to the Federal Constitutional Court, which he regards as a mortal sin politically. He has also declared that he would rather be "torn to pieces" than see the principle of free collective bargaining tampered with. Strikes, he says, are quite normal.

Despite these clear statements, it is in Schmidt's interest to avoid confrontations in the present difficult round of wage negotiations.

He sent Minister of State Hans Jürgen Wischnewski to the printing industry negotiations as a trouble-shooter. In the Baden-Württemberg metal industry dispute his function was to calm both sides.

There is a lot of pent-up resentment. Schmidt explained his conception of how pensions could be financed to the union bosses in a late-night sitting.

They told him in no uncertain terms what they thought of it.

The bosses would like to see the present principle of pensions related to gross earnings maintained. So would the opposition CDU. The government is planning to change the system, though it has not publicly said this yet. The trades unions favour increases in pension contributions.

The Bonn Cabinet recently decided against a special tax to finance more vocational training. The unions were bitter. They ask when the time will ever be right for such a tax if not now.

Six months ago the government decided — against the wishes of the DGB and some of its own MPs to reduce the wealth tax and increase value added tax.

The most serious brotherly dispute between the SPD and DGB came at the beginning of the government's term of office when DGB boss Vetter said the coalition would be responsible for the army of unemployed if it did not inject at least DM20,000 million into the economy.

Heinz Oskar Vetter recalls with a touch of sadness in his voice. "At the beginning of the government's term of office, their programme and ours were identical in many important respects, so that we could happily give the social-liberal government all the support we could."

This was in 1969. Things have changed dramatically since then. The unions' conception of their role has changed, as has that of the SPD. There were a number of parallel developments.

The distance between the unions and the "state" narrowed. Only a few years earlier, it had been common practice for unionists to refuse decorations from the state.

There were even complaints from dissidents that unions and government were too close, that there was too much conformity. There were some in the SPD who also held this opinion.

This was not simply because dreams of social reform had faded in the routine of politics. The unions finally agreed to the emasculated version of the Co-determination Act even though it was far from being what they had hoped. The new proposals for pension financing will be a hard pill for the unions to swallow, but they are likely to do so. There was no longer any chance that the good old days of economic growth were coming back. Then Vetter declared that the "honeymoon was over" — for good. Before that, increased growth and rising real incomes had apparently automatically ensured harmony. Now both sides realised that their stock of things in common was low. There is no way of restoring the idyllic harmony of the past. The unions went on hoping longer than the Chancellor. They insisted that the economic recession was a passing phase, that it was not structural, that if everyone pulled his weight things would improve.



Politics and labour: Chancellor Schmidt with Heinz Oskar Vetter, president of the DGB, the German Federation of Trade Unions. Is the nature of the relationship changing? (Photo: dpa)

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development had forecast that unemployment would reach two-and-a-half million by 1985, but this predection did not fit in to the unions' scheme of things. They are only now coming to realise that this prediction may be near the mark. There will be an increase in productivity of a few percentage points but this is not going to create enough jobs to significantly reduce unemployment.

Since then there has simply not been a basis for solid agreement with the government. There is no longer that "basic consensus" which guaranteed "social peace." Yet social peace is the main slogan of the Schmidt government.

In future, Helmut Schmidt will find it more difficult to fight his battles for economic growth with the DGB and, if necessary, against his own party. In November last year 50,000 unionists demonstrated in favour of coal and atomic energy, the leaders of the five largest unions among them.

This was a response to the Chancellor's call. The 50,000 described themselves as the biggest citizens' action committee in the land. They put the dissident minorities opposing the building of atomic energy stations firmly in their place. In face of this demonstration of strength the SPD had little choice but to say yes to atomic energy.

The party left knows perfectly well what would happen if it did anything to destroy the pact between SPD and unions. In times of economic crisis where political morality, long-term interests and short-term exigencies have to weighed against one another, a familiar pattern is emerging: ecological considerations go by the wayside when growth is in danger.

Development aid is all right, as long as it does not affect jobs at home;

Arms exports are all right, provided they create jobs.

Is it surprising then when Helmut Schmidt tells close colleagues that men like *IG Metall* boss Eugen Loderer are more loyal in vital questions of German politics than predecessors such as Otto Brenner.

Brenner condemned rearmament in public, but in this letters asked the government to keep the conditions for arms exports as flexible as possible. Better to pursue one's interests openly, so the argument runs, than be hidebound by double morality.

It seems to be increasingly difficult in the unions and in the SPD to control policies from above.

This cannot be explained away in terms of a loss of authority. Ever since the SPD-FDP coalition came to power in 1969, the unions have had to stifle or play down conflicts in their ranks to avoid embarrassing the government. Some union leaders do not fully represent opinion within their own unions.

The small number of pragmatists who meet the Chancellor a few times every year near Bonn do not necessarily reflect the changes in their ranks, men such as social democrats Karl Hauenschild of *IG Chemie* (chemical workers' union), Karl Buschmann, chairman of the Textile workers' union, Rudolf Sperner of the building workers' union and miners' boss Adolf Schmidt.

Eugen Loderer and the banker Hesselbach also belong to this circle — but not to the charmed inner circle.

The relations between this group and DGB boss Vetter are cool and getting cooler. Vetter has described his relationship with the Chancellor aptly in the give-away remark: "There is no better one at the moment."

These are signs of alienation, but there is no evidence that the gap could not be bridged.

It is far more difficult to come to terms with the new generations in the unions and SPD whose background is academic rather than in the working class movement. A recent analysis has shown that this generation has already occupied a number of key posts within the SPD.

Certainly the SPD must be alarmed at goings-on at grass roots level and in the trades union youth movement.

Many of these young people regard the union and party leadership in much the same way as the extra-parliamentary opposition of ten years ago saw all bourgeois parties. Here are the seeds of tomorrow's conflicts.

Yet it is not this generation of young outsiders, nor the older bosses, who are the decisive influence. It is those of the

Continued on page 5

■ DEFENCE

Apel's swift new orders give military surprise

DIE ZEIT

Hans Apel, Minister of Defence and former Minister of Finance, was known as a quick thinker well before he took over in the Defence Ministry on the Bonn Hardthöhe eight weeks ago.

But few of the military and civil service experts in the ministry had reckoned with his moving so swiftly into action. His first step was to revise his predecessor Georg Leber's decision of last October to put the *Militärischer Abschirmdienst* (Military Counter-Espionage) under direct ministerial control.

Apel decided that the MAD would remain under the military chiefs of staff and that his secretary of state Hiehle would ensure a smooth flow of information.

Ten days later, after intensive consultation with the military and civilian leadership in his ministry, Apel scrapped the so-called "Armed Forces Model 3" – though the original purpose of the talks had been only to discuss this reform. This was the most ambitious scheme since the Bundeswehr was reorganised in 1956 and it was about to be implemented. But the plan far too unwieldy for much chance of success.

According to this model, known to the experts as Central Support Area, a new military organisation would have been formed, responsible for ammunition supply, fuel, rations, spare parts and military infrastructure (buildings from barracks to air-raid shelters.)

This organisation would have had a strength of 100,000 men according to the latest plans – almost a quarter of the Bundeswehr's total peacetime strength. It would also have meant job restructuring affecting 400,000 of the Bundeswehr's 460,000 soldiers.

Constant reshuffling and reorganisation would have gone on for months if not years. The new organisation formed from elements of the army, navy and air force would have created new command relationship problems and would have been a logistic hydrocephalus – more likely to malfunction than the present decentralised supply system and, given the huge installation costs, hardly any cheaper.

The question still not answered is how the military planners in the Ministry of Defence, led by the former Head of Staff and present General Inspector Harald Wust could have spent seven years on analyses and cost calculations for a reform which the new Minister of Defence took only two days to scrap.

If an independent team of rationalisation experts had been commissioned to carry out the analysis, would they not have reached the same conclusion as Herr Apel long ago?

It looks as if the unwieldy bureaucratic apparatus within the ministry spent years working away at its own idee fixe without realising that it would one day have to scrap its scheme altogether.

There was, even at an early stage, internal resistance to the plan, particularly from the Luftwaffe General Inspector Limberg, who did not agree with the idea of centralised logistics. These objections were dismissed as based on mere jealousies.

The question of what is to become of the new structure reform known as Brigade 80 is still open. At the moment the brigades – the smallest independent *combat units – consist of three battalions*, each of three combat companies and a staff company. The difference between the tank and the tank grenadier brigades is that heavy combat tanks (now Leopard 1, soon Leopard 2) predominate in the former, while the latter are mainly equipped with light combat vehicles (Marder).

General staff studies of the Yom Kippur war and analyses of population concentration in Central Europe have shown that battalions and combat companies at their present size and equipment are too large and inflexible to meet the threat of an invader.

There has long been a widely-held assumption that only the North German plain and a few other sections of countryside to the south would be suitable ground on which to withstand massed tank attacks from the East.

This viewpoint needs to be revised. Given our road structure, this country is exposed to tank attacks all along the East-West line. There are so many possible points of attack that it is impossible to predict where the enemy may strike.

If the defending forces wish to respond effectively to the first attack, they have to be mobile enough to concentrate firepower swiftly.

This thinking was one of the main reasons for the new brigade model, in which tank brigades will in future consist of three instead of two tank battalions



Going up in smoke: former Minister of Defence Georg Leber gives his successor, Hans Apel, a light. Now Apel has scrapped the military reforms drawn up under his predecessor. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The number of troops in battalions and companies would be reduced and there would be a smaller number of combat tanks (99 instead of 108). The tank grenadier brigades would get two more battalions.

So far five model brigades have been set up and tried out in manoeuvres for a year. According to military leaders Brigade Model 80 has lived up to expectations. Herr Apel shares their opinion.

However, in one important point the planners were mistaken. The reorganisation of the entire field army and the increase from 33 to 36 brigades has proved far more expensive than they had thought: over DM1,000 million.

Most of this money would go on the larger number of officers and NCOs in the smaller but now more numerous units. As ex-Minister of Finance, Hans Apel knows that he simply cannot get this sum out of his defence budget, already burdened by new weapons and equipment.

The Minister's request that ministry officials should work out proposals by June on how this reorganisation is to be financed amounts to asking them to square the circle.

One possibility would be to keep sections of a brigade on reduced personnel and equipment in peacetime and call up reservists who had recently completed military service in an emergency.

This would save money but would also reduce the army's capacity to strike back fast in the event of a surprise attack – and this is the raison d'être of the reorganised brigades.

There is at present no sign of how the military leadership can solve this problem. The structural problems will not be made any easier by the purchase of new weapons and weapons systems in the next few years. On the contrary they will be more intractable.

The Bundeswehr is one of the most modern and best equipped armies in the world. Its organisational conception, changed and reshuffled several times in its 20-year history, is still provisional in character.

Hans Schueler

(Die Zeit, 31 March 1978)

Opposition is unhappy on Apel changes

The justification on financial grounds by new Bonn Minister of Defence Hans Apel of his decision to reverse plans to reform the armed forces is "unsatisfactory" says CDU-CSU Opposition spokesman on defence Manfred Wörner.

Herr Wörner said he did not object to the decision, but any decision on reforms had to be founded on political and military analysis and not simply on financial considerations, important though these were.

Minister Apel had surprised observers by scrapping the plans for joint operations between sections of the Bundeswehr. He had also given instructions for the new armed forces plan to improve combat effectiveness by creating smaller fighting units to be revised.

Herr Wörner said urgent decisions had to be made on improvements in training, reform of the promotion system, special duty payments and arrangements for holiday in lieu of overtime. He stressed the need to improve the overall defence model and the use of reservists.

In the international sphere, Wörner said attempts by the Soviet Union to dictate the choice of Nato weapons should be strongly resisted. The West should also present a united front at the Vienna talks on troop reductions. As for the SALT talks, more attention should be paid to the interests of the European states. Herr Wörner, chairman of the parliamentary committee, investigating the Lutze-Wiegel spy case, said the committee's work so far disproved the widely-held theory that nothing ever came out of such investigations.



Manfred Wörner (Photo: Sven Simon)

His committee had already unearthed a considerable amount of information which would never otherwise have become known. This applied to the circumstances of the spy case, the security precautions within the Ministry of Defence and the work and control of the *Militärischer Abschirmdienst* (Military Counter-Espionage).

Herr Wörner said he did not wish to anticipate the committee's final assessment but certain points had clearly emerged and certain improvements would have to be made:

- Stricter security precautions in the Ministry of Defence.
- The flow of information between the military and the political leadership would have to be improved.
- Measures would have to be taken to end the extreme tensions between the General Staff of the Armed Forces and the *Militärischer Abschirmdienst*.
- There would have to be closer surveillance of ministry personnel. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 28 March 1978)

■ RELIGION

Hans Küng takes stock in the great God debate

The Swiss Catholic theologian Hans Küng, a Tübingen University professor, was criticised by German bishops for presenting major dogmas in an abbreviated form in his book *Christ sein* (Being a Christian), published in 1974, and thus having sowed unrest among Catholics. The dispute is described in the recently published book *Um nichts als die Wahrheit* (Nothing but the Truth) by Küng's friend Walter Jens (published by Piper Verlag). Küng's latest book *Existiert Gott?* (Does God Exist?) expounds the author's theology.

The word God, Martin Buber once wrote, "is the most burdened of all human words. None has been so sullied and so much taken apart."

He concluded surprisingly: "For this very reason I cannot forgo it."

Even the purest term of philosophy, he said boldly, paled beside this word, "which mankind, with its enormous living and dying, has adulated and humiliated."

Hans Küng refers to these ideas of Buber in the attempt in his latest book to "cautiously speak of God."

The ambivalent "burden" attaching to the word God obviously also burdens this attempt, which is nonetheless necessary.

It has become increasingly clear of late that people, above all young people, no longer consider our de-enchanted world the ultima ratio.

And, indeed, the purely instrumental anti-religious reason of the industrial age makes people sink deeper and deeper into the mire of boredom, functional routine, emptiness, fear and brutality.

Faddist meditation exercises – and they, too, are a defensive reaction against this development – have rehabilitated religious thinking in the profane and secular sector.

Meanwhile it is no longer just the followers of nostalgia who confirm the thesis put forward by the philosophers Theodor Adorno and Horkheimer in 1947 in their *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Dialectic of Enlightenment): "Politics which, no matter how unreflected, does not encompass theology remains, clever though it may be, business in the final analysis."

At least as hope "that injustice will not have the last word" (Horkheimer), theology is again gaining prestige and followers.The exceptional success of Küng's 1974 book *Christ sein* (120,000 sold copies) evidences the general comeback of religion. It has encouraged the publishers to print an initial 100,000 copies of his latest book.

Küng's effort to "rethink the issue of God and to talk about it" is not only extremely timely but also daring in view of the enormous tradition and the manifold ideas on this subject.

What is new about this book is above all its claim to being a universal and comprehensive stocktaking.

Küng paints a colossal panorama that encompasses all efforts to date at delving into the existence (or rejecting it) of God. He bases his own three-fold theory on this historic foundation: "Yes to reality – yes to God – yes to a Christian God."

The central thesis reads: "That God exists can only be assumed in a faith that rests in reality itself."

This thesis, like numerous other formulations in *Existiert Gott?*, is familiar from *Christ sein.* But in the latest work it is for the first time historically and systematically explained and justified.

Küng first leads the reader towards a "faithful yes concerning this reality."

On this basis he continues to lead towards a yes to God as the "basic goal of questionable reality." This is essentially still the mediaeval theodicy, as for instance in the spirit of Kant, who once said that the existence of God should not be "demonstrated" but that one should nevertheless "convince" oneself of it.

The key term, which for Küng marks the middle of the road between strict theodicy (which is impossible) and unfounded assertion (which reason cannot accept) can be summed up as "faith."

This faith results from a moral decision. Those deciding in favour of a "yes" understand in the realisation of this decision that it represents a "reasonable risk" and that reality permits and rewards such affirmation, which thus does not simply drop into a void.

Such "faith of reason" can, according to Küng, not be logically substantiated but the responsibility for it is rationally acceptable.

He links what traditional philosophy usually separates: theory and practice. Only the practical "act of faith" provides full theoretical insight into its reasonableness.

This makes the reader unwittingly think of Ernst Bloch's "Principle of Hope" and of Martin Heidegger's "existence as being in the World".

There, too, reason and will, theory and practice, can no longer be differentiated along traditional lines. But Küng's "faith" as terminology is still too vague as to be equal to these two philosophical blueprints.

Küng's strength lies elsewhere – not so much in philosophical comprehensiveness but rather in the lively and open way in which he sets the limits of his principle, depicts, palpitates, varies and discusses it.

Far removed from all narrow-minded catechism apologia and in a brilliant style, he touches as a pleasingly worldly man of God upon the heights and abysses of the history of faith, ranging from the God of Abraham and Jesus Christ all the way to the "unmoved movery" of Aristotle; from "the highest Being" to the "cause in itself", as conceived in the Middle Ages, to Kant's God as the "postulation" of practical reason; from Spinoza's "one and only substance" to Freud's "wish fulfillment world", and to the blast of modern astrophysics which seems to prove that the world had a genuine beginning.

Even so, the final result is not a superficial and irresponsible quick course but a clear and well-founded discussion.

This deals at even greater length with "heretics" such as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Marx than with believers – and not without reason: only in dealing with atheism did early Christianity – and now Küng – find the best argument for faith.

According to Küng, the faithful is in many ways superior to the unfaithful: in the final analysis, the unfaithful can neither understand the absoluteness of moral obligation – a basic experience of mankind – nor can he understand the fact that he, too, no matter how sceptical, will spontaneously trust in the identity of "goodness' and reality in everyday life.

The believer understands all this plus the motivations of the sceptic; for he, too, is confronted with the nothingness of reality. But he understands it because reality is not divine and exists in separation from the unity and fullness of God.

The unbeliever, on the other hand (whom Küng never lectures) is unable to integrate the motives of the believer, his moments of justified hope and moral integrity, into his negative system.

And yet, the existence of God cannot be proven, nor can the antithesis that he does not exist.



Hans Küng (Photo: dpa)

Atheistic rationalism, too, rests on an unprovable act of decision: "The decision in favour of rationalism," writes Karl Popper, "cannot be proved by argument and experience. Although this can be discussed, it rests on an irrational decision, i.e. the belief in reason."

Küng rightly opposes advocates of dogmatic scientific rationality with the argument that the more banal a truth, the more secure it is. And the more significant an idea can be for our existence, the more uncertain it must be.

The "housing shortage of God" which the zoologist Ernst Haeckel found in our scientific age can therefore also be interpreted as the positivistic unimaginativeness of the citizen for whom security is paramount.

Religion today has to fight not only against the dogmatism of some scientists but also against rigid ideologies. "Wherever finite quantities are made absolute – formerly "the nation", "the people", "the race", "the Church" and now "the working class", "the party" or "the true consciousness" of an intellectual elite – and considered final emancipation, no true liberalisation of man arises but totalitarian rule of man over man and thus new mistrust and hatred, new fears and suffering under individual groups, peoples, races and classes."

In other words, God is man's only possibility to "totally" transcend himself and not fall prey to an idol: the "absolute" as the only thing that is absolute and worthy of man, and thus making man the measure of man, as intended by Marx.

Not only does God exceed all innerworldly dimension of the existing, nothingness can also "liberate": it is neither a thing nor the quality of a thing. Not only God, nothingness, too, could be that "entirely different thing" which creates a new distance from all reality and in certain ways even a new joy in existence."

Absolute reason and absolute abyss are very similar. Let us remember: the devil is a fallen angel. Everybody must work out for himself and in his loneliness wherein the basis of his life lies.

Küng in no way denies the existential limits of his grandiose revelation. He even goes so far as to openly say: "A speech about God which comes out of silence and leads into silence does not know with whom it is dealing."

This is an almost Buddhist modesty which pleases the reader in view of this tremendous 800-page speech about the Almighty.

Mathias Schreiber

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 March 1978)

Existiert Gott? **by Hans Küng, published by Piper Verlag, Munich, 1978, 878 pages, DM42.**

Continued from page 3

Politics, labour power shifts

Steinkühler generation and their political conceptions.

This middle generation talks a lot of theory but its main aim is practical reform. It has never had the difficulty of reconciling itself with the state or indeed of identifying.

This generation is represented in the Cabinet – in the person of Volker Hauff for example. Here we have an alliance of people who think alike and speak the same language. There are even members of this constellation in the FDP.

The urgent question they are asking – if technological progress is always and in all cases reasonable – does not come from latter-day Luddites. They are, on the contrary, technocrats, political pragmatists.

These men have no great visions, but they do believe that politicians can shape the future and provide the solutions. This is what the conflict in the Baden-Württemberg metal industry is partly about. The questions being asked in the central offices of the unions and the coalition parties are: What should grow? Should we, for reasons of solidarity, think of ways of redistributing work bsshortenign working hours? Are there limits to technology?

As soon as social democrats start manning the barricades, even if this only means bringing a glass of whisky out to striking workers early in the mornings, the clash between them and their coalition partners, the Free Democrats becomes evident.

The FDP seems to have overcome its past hostility to the unions, out whenever a possible conflict with the DGB emerges they like to test their strength; rather fancying themselves as David against Goliath. The FDP has the impression that it is rarely the loser in such conflicts.

FDP secretary Verheugen has a sly reply to hand when he is told that the country is turning into a union slate: "Of all the important decisions taken over the past few years, there was not one where the unions had a decisive influence."

On the other hand, there are not fraternise with the FDP. The DAG, a white-collar union, are exception to this rule.

Gunter Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 31 March 1978)

■ BUSINESS

Growth forecasts fall as dollar damages markets

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The Bonn Government's growth target for 1978 is 3.5 per cent. A few weeks ago, Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff said he was more certain now than at the beginning of the year that the figure would be reached.

Favourable reports from business and the more pronounced upswing since last autumn seemed to bear out this view.

But now the picture has become bleaker due to the dollar debacle. Forecasts are less rosy.

The EEC Commission in Brussels now believes overall Community growth will be less than three per cent.

The Economic and Social Affairs Institute of the Trade Unions estimates in its spring forecasts that this country will achieve three per cent growth (in real terms) at best.

The economic research institutes present their joint assessment at the end of April. But it is learned that they too will amend their previous forecast downward to three per cent, something unlikely to meet with much enthusiasm in Bonn considering the coming economic summit.

It has been a main prerequisite in all forecasts that wage increases remain within the framework recommended by the Government — and this is anything but certain the way things stand now.

The trade unions justify their wage demands as participation in the anticipated productivity increase (which their research institute puts at a maximum three per cent), plus compensation for a rising cost of living index which will not exceed three per cent. This makes for a wage increase of six per cent.

But the tax relief that came into effect on 1 January, about one per cent, should be taken into account. If we follow the trade unions' argument, it should be possible to arrive at wage deals around five per cent,

Last year also began with optimism over an acceleration of economic growth. But this finally collapsed over excessive wage increases.

The prospects at the beginning of 1978 were clearly more favourable than a year earlier. Industry's business has been improving since last autumn, particularly in domestic demand.

Strong impulses come from the automobile industry, which continued its exceptionally lively upswing into the first months of this year.

This key industry, with its effects on a wide range of component suppliers, is faced this year with the biggest investment boom in its history.

The construction industry will for the first time in ages stimulate overall economic development, having for the past few years acted as a brake.

Cheap mortgage money has had its effect on construction, so sensitive to interest rates. Some banks issued as many mortgages in the first two months of this year as in the first six months of 1977.

In the housing construction business, the influx of orders last November was 54 per cent higher than a year earlier. Another positive development in the sector is the rising volume of orders for construction machinery.

The spring trade fairs have been marked by lively demand. The specialised retail trade showed an improved turnover by a nominal six per cent (three per cent in real terms) compared with the same period in 1977.

This lively business start was not sustained in February but is likely to pick up again in March due to this year's early Easter.

Unless wage costs wreck everything, we have every reason to expect livelier investment activity and improved profits.

Lower import prices for raw materials and semi-finished products, low interest rates and particularly utilisation of production facilities are likely benefit production costs.

Per piece production costs also increased less than last year.

The volume of domestic orders for capital goods was 17 per cent higher this January than a year earlier.

In mechanical engineering, generally considered an early indicator, foreign orders in December 1977 were ten per cent up on December 1976 (in real terms).

Figures on industrial orders in January must be viewed with caution. It would be premature to conclude that the upward trend shows a break only because the volume of orders shows a clear decline compared with December.

After all, industry's orders in January were nominally 9.4 per cent larger than in January 1977 — and considering the very small price fluctuation this is 8 per cent more even in real terms. Not bad at all.

In today's situation, the risk of excessive wage increases is greater than ever and it is of paramount importance to keep production costs down.

After the drastic increase in the cost of our exports, which will take effect gradually but with great impact, and the falling cost of imports — especially of finished products — jobs in this country are at risk.

The dollar exchange rate dropped from DM2.36 in mid-1977 to DM2.00 at present. This means a deterioration of our competitiveness on domestic and world markets of about 15 per cent.

The new exchange rate means the average labour costs of German industry are now between 15 and 20 per cent higher than in the United States (Commerzbank statistics).

It is customary here to speak only of the risks to our exports. But an even greater danger is the competition advantage for foreign industry in our domestic market. It can easily outmanoeuvre our industry by undercutting.

This trend has been visible for some time, and it is no coincidence that the number of bankruptcies is rising.

Typically this development takes place on a market where German industry has been particularly strong.

Between January and November 1977 this country imported capital goods worth DM17,000 million. According to the Institute of German Economy, this was an increase of 14 per cent and meant that, for the first time in this country's history, more than 20 per cent of plant and equipment came from abroad.

Apart from dollar purchases by other surplus countries in support of the ailing American currency, the Bundesbank alone bought DM16,000 million in dollars in the six months from October 1977 to March 1978.

The international volume of itinerant dollars outside the United States has meanwhile reached the staggering figure of 500,000 million.

These estimates come from someone who should know: Henry Reuss, the most influential monetary expert at the Capitol and chairman of the House of Representatives banking committee.

It is obvious that present supporting dollar purchases are totally ineffectual in view of the size of this figure. Just as a comparison, the active money volume in the Federal Republic of Germany (cash circulation plus sight deposits) at present amounts to DM200,000 million.

The United States is printing paper dollars to cover its trade deficit, and the flood of them circulating abroad is rising steadily.

This race with the money printing press can in the long run only promote inflationary trends world-wide — but it cannot overcome the basic dollar crisis.

The dollar exchange rate will continue to fall and the risk of the oil producing countries deciding to figure oil prices indexed to a basket of international currencies rather than in dollars will increase — and this will be the beginning of the end of the dollar as a reserve currency.

Walther Slotosch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 March 1978)

WORLD ECONOMIES
Economic data: 1977

	PRICES Rise in %	GROWTH Some estimated in %	UNEMPLOYMENT In % of workers	FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES In months
1.	Fed. Rep. of Germany 3.9	Japan 6.1	Japan 2	Fed. Rep. of Germany 4.7
2.	USA 6.5	USA 4.6	Fed. Rep. of Germany 4.5	Britain 4
3.	Japan 8.1	France 3	France 5.2	Japan 3.9
4.	France 9.5	Fed. Rep. of Germany 2.4	Britain 6.3	Italy 3.3
5.	Britain 15.8	Italy 2	USA 7	France 1.7
6.	Italy 18.4	Britain 0.5	Italy 7	USA 1.5

Bonn moves to adapt export risk sureties

The Bonn Government wants to improve its export promotion measures, still on the principle that exports should be financed by banks and not by government interest subsidies.

But Bonn considers it necessary to adapt federal guarantees for export deals to those of other Western industrialised countries in two main ways: firstly, the Cabinet is soon to decide the extent to which nation-wide uniform guarantees for tenders, down-payments and execution can be provided; secondly, the Economic Affairs and Finance Ministries are about to coordinate their export credit insurance after two years of work.

Exporters must provide financial sureties — especially to Middle East customers — through tender, down-payment and execution guarantees to prove their ability to fill an order.

These guarantees pose financial difficulties for small and medium-sized companies.

The Cabinet wants to prevent competition distortions between large and small companies, the latter frequently facing the guarantee problem.

Bonn is therefore exploring ways to facilitate guarantees for small companies. Some federal states already give such assistance, but it would have to be made more uniform and extended by federal participation.

Export credit insurance is intended to reduce the risk of German companies owed money by private foreign buyers. This is now to be achieved by comprehensive federal guarantees.

The Economic Affairs Ministry has worked out a draft amendment of the General Terms for Export Guarantees.

They provides that defaults covered by credit insurance be state guaranteed and settled in a simplified way.

At present, compensation depends on the exporter's proof of the insolvency of a foreign customer, and this is often very difficult.

Insolvency proof is to be replaced by the simple fact of non-payment. The Federal Government would then pay compensation automatically through the Hermes Credit Insurance if the foreign buyer of an insured exporter has failed to pay within a given period.

The introduction of the non-payment criterion would meet an old demand by business.

But exporters are unhappy that the Government wants to make general guarantees within the framework of exports mandatory.

All orders from countries outside the OECD are to be compulsorily insured with Hermes. Bonn justifies this by arguing that the guarantee procedure will be less cumbersome and the general guarantee would ensure a mixed bag of major and minor risks.

The state-supported credit insurance is to pay for itself through premiums.

The new arrangement would in the long run benefit rather than harm exporters.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 March 1978)

■ TRADE

No unemployment let-up in sight says bank forecast

Unemployment will not be reduced in the next four years says the Westdeutsche Landesbank in a forecast of economic development up to 1982.

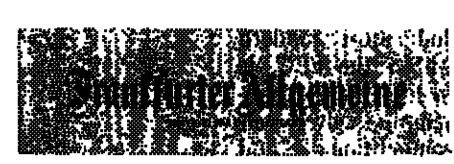
The Bundesbank will not amend its monetary course until mid-1980, when it will aim to reduce the money supply, says the projection, called Forecast '82.

The bank's economist also criticise the Bundesbank's present monetary policy, which has continuously increased the money supply, bringing considerable inflationary risks.

The forecast assumes that the inflation rate, diminishing since 1975, will come to an end in 1979.

In 1979 and 1980, inflation is expected to reach its lowest rate of 2.5 per cent. In 1977 the price index rose by 3.6 per cent.

Due to higher economic growth from 1980 onward and production capacity



bottlenecks expected in 1981, inflation will accelerate after 1980.

But neither prices nor interest rates will revert to the high figures of the seventies.

The Westdeutsche Landesbank projection sees no way of reducing unemployment. Although the increase of productivity will decelerate in the next few years because the heavy upward revaluation of the deutschmark will reduce the share of industrial goods in the GNP, and because German industry will no longer have to catch up technologically with other countries, it is considered unlikely that increases could diminish to the level of the United States, a mere two per cent a year.

The study assumes an annual average productivity increase per working hour of four per cent until 1982. But since overall production during that period will only increase by an average 3.8 per cent, a further decrease in unemployment can only be achieved by shorter working time.

If the working time is reduced by an average of 0.5 per cent per annum, some 300,000 additional people will be employed in 1982.

But at the same time 500,000 more young people will begin their working lives by 1982 than old people will retire. This means unemployment will actually rise.

The employment ban for foreign workers should therefore continue.

Further unemployment can only be prevented if the number of foreign workers in the Federal Republic of Germany is reduced by about 200,000 by 1982.

Even so, the study does not anticipate additional fiscal and monetary booster shots for the economy.

Only in 1980 is it expected that additional buying power to the tune of DM10.000 million will come from income tax reforms.

The study advises that the public sector prepare to use contingency plans available in blueprint due to the generally unstable state of the economy. These should concentrate on environment pro-

Continued on page 9

Institute hits at Bundesbank dollar policy

Even if the dollar exchange rate drops further, the Rhineland-Westphalian Institute for Economic Research (RWI) believes it should be left to market forces to regulate parities.

The RWI says it is wrong for the Bundesbank to attempt to stabilise the dollar exchange rate through intervention.

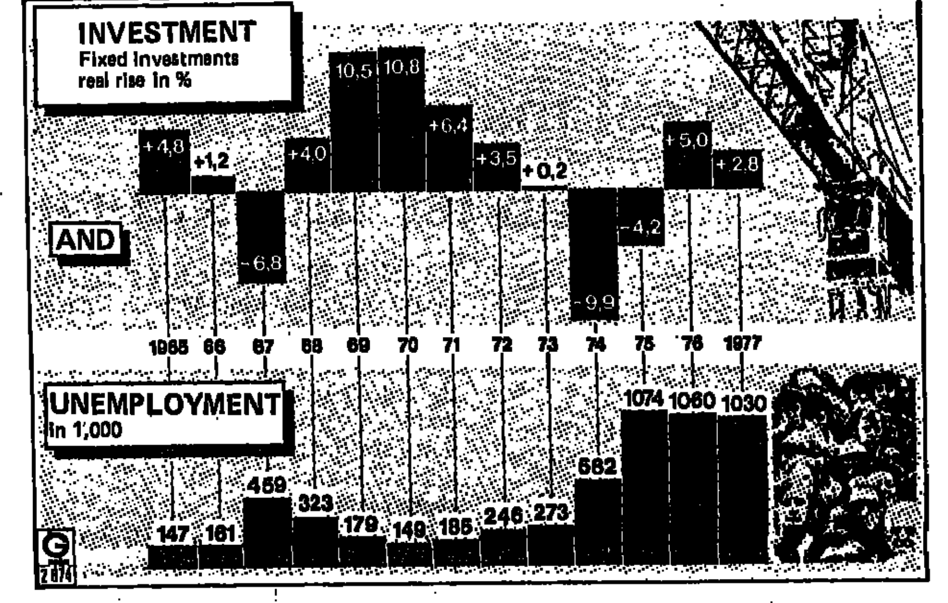
Experience for which the country has paid dearly has long ago demonstrated that this is unfeasible.

Such measures only stimulate inflationary trends and retard the process of establishing foreign exchange parities which are in keeping with the market, the institute says. It is irrelevant whether the dollar is supported by the Bundesbank or the Federal Reserve Bank.

The German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) recommends greater efforts to achieve parallel growth in the industrialised nations.

Only this way, DIW argues, can foreign exchange speculation be discouraged and the overvaluation of the deutschmark, the Swiss franc and the yen prevented. This action could be supported by further intervention on foreign exchange markets.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 March 1978)



Concern over growth target is understandable – Lambsdorff

Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff says Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's concern that the 3.5 per cent growth target for 1978 might not be reached due to the dollar weakness is understandable.

In an interview with *dpa*, Herr Lambsdorff repeated the government's determination to reach this figure despite economic risks at home and abroad. He said there were no figures substantiating a contrary view.

Otto Graf Lambsdorff stressed that the Bonn Government had in its January annual economic report emphasised the risks inherent in the monetary sector and in the then forthcoming round of wage negotiations.

There was little the Bonn Government could do about the dollar crisis.

Herr Lambsdorff viewed Chancellor Schmidt's statement as an admonishment to the parties to collective bargaining to keep these factors governing economic growth in mind.

In an interview with the illustrated magazine *Quick*, Chancellor Schmidt said the monetary turbulence was not as grave at the time the anual report was made.

"This gives rise to the concern that the growth expectations expressed in the report might not be reached."

In an interview with Saar Radio, Herr Lambsdorff said that "the way things stand at present, Bonn can still assume that the 3.5 per cent growth target will be reached."

Speculation about a new economic booster programme and further tax relief was "smoke without fire" said Herr Lambsdorff.

CDU spokesman Henrich termed Schmidt's and Lambsdorff's statements "a model of confusion".

He said the Econnomic Affairs Minister "probably acted on orders from above when he engaged in his mental acrobatics."

The confusion of official statements was not likely to engender confidence in the medium and long-term economic forecasts of the Government.

dpa/dlp

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 March 1978)

DM500m surplus in February trade payments

The Federal Republic of Germany's imports in February were DM18,700 million as opposed to exports of DM21,370 million.

This makes a trade surplus of DM2,600 million. Taking into account services and transfers, the actual balance of payments shows a surplus of DM500 million, according to preliminary Bundesbank figures.

In February 1977 the trade surplus was DM2,700 million, with a balance of payments surplus of DM300 million.

In January 1978 there was a trade surplus of DM1,900 million and a current account deficit of DM400 million.

According to the Federal Statistical Office, imports in February 1978 were three per cent and exports two per cent higher than in February 1977.

Compared with January 1978, imports sell by three per cent, while exports were virtually unchanged (plus 0.2 per cent).

In the first two months of 1978, imports amounted to DM38,200 million and exports to DM42,700 million.

Compared with 1977, imports rose by six and exports by five per cent. But averages must be taken into account.

From December 1976 to De ember 1977, average import figures (1970 equals 100) dropped by two per cent while average exports rose one per cent.

The balance of payments in January-February 1978 showed a surplus of DM200 million, consisting of a trade surplus of DM4,500 million, balances for services (minus DM100 million) and transfers (minus DM4,200 million).

During the same period last year the balance of payments showed a surplus of DM100 million and the balance of trade of DM4,700 million.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 March 1978)

Aid budget to bear foreign debt waivers

The proposed waiving by Bonn of the debts of the poorest developing countries will not be an additional burden on the Federal budget, despite reports.

Ministers are agreed with the Chancellor that the loss of revenues can be offset by economy measures in the development aid budget.

At the Geneva conference the industrialised countries offered to waive the debts of some 30 developing nations on individual merit.

Since the Federal Government should receive about DM80 million a year in debt repayments from those countries, this means Bonn would have to reduce its payments for current projects accordingly (assuming that the debts of all these countries are waived).

The total indebtedness of these countries to Bonn for capital aid granted up to the end of 1977 is about DM1,800 million, to be repaid within 50 years. Including interest the total is DM2,200 million.

German development aid in 1977 diminished again compared with 1976. In both public and private sectors.

Although the United Nations called for development aid of 0.7 per cent of GNP, Bonn has consistently lagged behind this figure, having provided 0.27 per cent in 1977 (1976: 0,31 per cent) despite having in principle accepted the UN guideline.

Assistance in 1977, inclusive of the private sector, amounted to 1.12 per cent of GNP (1976: 1.19 per cent).

Private direct investments reached only DM1,500 million in 1977, according to official statistics. The previous year's figure was DM1,900 million.

OF the 1977 assistance, DM900 million went to Latin America (Brazil: DM600 million), DM300 million to Asia, DM185 million to Africa and DM130 million to developing countries in Europe,

Bonn's development aid amounted to DM3,200 million (1976: DM3,500 million).

Henz Heck

(Die Welt, 23 March 1978)

■ INDUSTRY

Steel manufacturers hope for better times ahead

DIE WELT

Better times lie ahead for the German steel industry, although manufacturers still hesitate to say this out loud.

Two things substantiate this asessment. Steel output in the first quarter of 1978 was seven per cent up on the same period in 1977. Short-shift work, which last December affected 68.000 (21.5 per cent of the labour force) has been falling continuously, reaching 10 per cent in March.

The second and more important aspect concerns prices. The third phase of minimum and guildelines prices for rolled steel, ushered in at the beginning of 1978 by the EEC Commission and now completed by the necessity for anti-dumping measures against non-EEC countries, has led to unexpectedly swift successes.

The steel price level for the domestic market of EEC producers has already made a 10 per cent recovery.

Moreover, the measures to ward off dumping, simultaneously introduced in Europe and the United States, induced the Japanese to abstain from their most aggressive form of price policy.

World market prices for many types of steel have since improved by up to 20 per cent, and in the sheet metal sector by close to 50 per cent.

The tactics of all major steel producers on the weak world market of considering exports worthwhile to maintain employment even if prices per ton covered only part of fixed expenses seems to be ending and paying off.

This is particularly true of the German steel industry, which sells 25 per cent of its production to non-EEC countries and for whom this drastic reversal of the price structure is very welcome.

The same applies for Bonn's economic policy-makers. Their idea, conceived last autumn, to provide our badly ailing steel mills with three million tons of coke at the giveaway price of DM100 (instead of DM250) per ton at government expense has virtually been rendered obsolete by the improved situation.

Instead, the Federal Government and the federal states with coal-mining industries (bearing one-third of the cost) now have the problem of offsetting the price difference between foreign and cheaper domestic coke.

This difference has tripled since 1977 and is now DM50 per ton, accounting for subsidies for the German anthracite mining industry of DM1,000 million for 1978.

Even if this problem should be solved (probably in April), the steel situation would still not be entirely rosy. Although it can be assumed that, if the present trend towards improved prices continues, those steel mills which operate at particularly low production costs will be out of the red this spring, it is still a long way before mass steel production achieves adequate profits.

Looking to the majority of mills which still operate at a loss, the EEC Commission envisages a third price increase for the second quarter and a fourth for the rest of 1978 to achieve profit targets.

It must also be remembered that German steel output, notwithstanding improved trends, has only just reached an annual 42 million tons. This is about the figure of ten years ago and 22 per cent less than the boom year 1974, which saw 53.2 million tons.

World production, on the other hand, in 1977 had reached 673 million tons, only five per cent less than the record 1974 level, and is likely to exceed this in 1978.

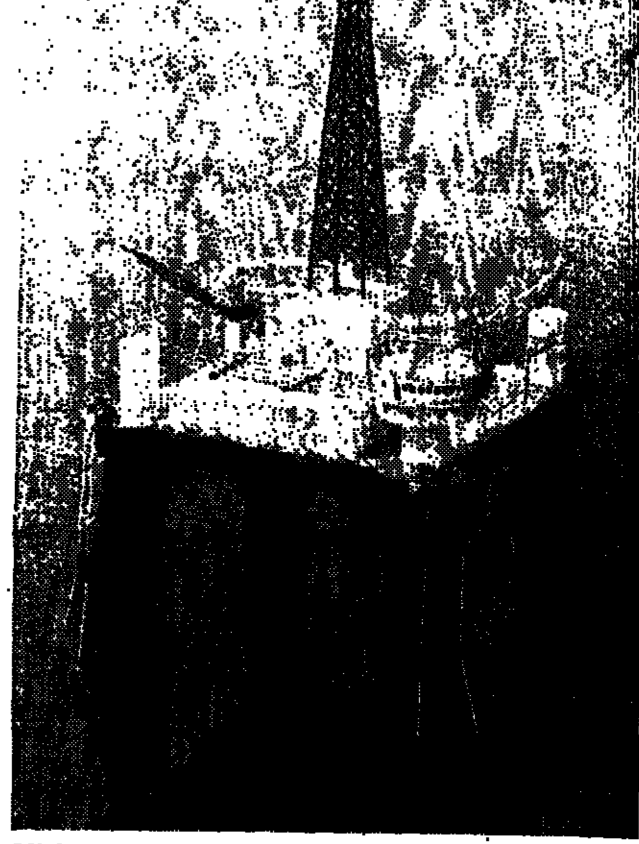
Increased steel consumption and production are shifting to countries outside the major steel-producing regions of the free world.

Elimination of obsolete production capacities in the Community's steel industry is becoming imperative. In 1974, the Community was still the largest bloc of steel producers, ranking before the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan.

The German steel industry, the largest and most modern within the EEC, is in least need of revamping, given fair competition and provided that the nationalised and state-subsidised competitors in the EEC act in conformity with market trends. But whether this will happen is uncertain. It is this uncertainty and the relatively halting recovery of the market which prompts German manufacturers not to speak too loudly of an end to the steel crisis.

Joachim Gehlhoff

(Die Welt, 29 March 1978)



Off-shore rig for the 1980s: a model of the R35 semi-submersible prospecting rig to be built by Erno of Bremen, It is designed to withstand the toughest deep-sea wind and wave conditions. (Photo: ERNO)

Marine technology industry finds sellings heavy going

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

Heavy international competition is preventing Germany's marine technology industry gaining a foothold on the difficult offshore project market.

The Industry failed to sell a major offshore unit in 1977, says the 1977 annual report of the Business Association Industrial Marine Technology (WIM), Düsseldorf.

Although business in specialised ship construction, components and services diminished less markedly, it is still unknown whether the 1976 DM1,000 million turnover will be matched.

WIM expects, however, that this will be offset by harbour construction and the building of dams.

Turnover of the German offshore industry is estimated by WIM's manager, Friedrich W. Heierhoff, at just under DM3,000 million for 1977, compared with DM2,770 million in 1976.

According to WIM, global turnover in marine technology installations and equipment is now DM30,000 million, mostly for offshore technology for oil and gas exploration.

Following a low at the end of 1976 and beginning of 1977, the worldwide market stabilised in 1977 and continues to move upward in 1978. This is reflected in orders for oil drilling platforms.

Following 1976, which brought no orders in the North Sea area, 1977 saw orders for four platforms. It is expected that this year will bring another five to seven orders.

WIM estimates the global number of platforms to be built in the next eight years at 90. Focal points will be the North Sea, offshore areas of Mexico and the US east coast.

With the number of offshore installations rising, the service sector is gaining in importance.

In the British sector of the North Sea alone, maintenance, inspection and repairs accounted for a turnover of DM200 million in 1977.

Experts expect an annual turnover of between 1,000 and 1,500 million deutschmarks in this sector by 1980.

In the completion of underwater systems for early production (value of orders DM150 million in 1977), the estimates for 1982 envisage orders of DM500 million.

Increasing attention will be paid to safety regulations for offshore installations, with efforts to develop effective systems for combating oil polution, fire and explosion, says the report.

(Handelsblatt, 23 March 1978)

Langfelder files first MBB flight plan

Helmut Langfelder, the new chief executive of the Fedeal Republic of Germany's largest space and aviation concern, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB), has presented his new business strategy.

It continues the policy of his predecessor and MBB's founder, Ludwig Bölkow, centring on graduated cooperation with other industrial concerns on a national and international scale.

Helmut Langfelder stressed that new technologies demanded this cooperation.

His policy assumes that the Western world will have to make replacements and expansion purchases of civilian aircraft of DM130,000 to DM140,000 million (based on today's prices) by 1985-86.

At present it would seem that this need would be met exclusively by the giants Douglas McDonnel and Boeing. If this should be the case, Herr Langfelder foresees the end of the civilian aviation industry in Europe.

Fifty-five per cent of the overall civilian aircraft demand in the Western world comes from Europe. The MBB strategists would like to capture a secure slice of 30 per cent of this market.

But Herr Langfelder emphasised that Europe's aviation industry had to gain a foothold on the US market. The Airbus deal with Eastern Airlines was only a first step.

Airbus production is nearing three to four units per month, meaning that the per unit cost is about to prove profitable. One hundred of these craft have been sold.

Helmut Langfelder considers the realisation of European cooperation in the civilian aviation industry a prerequisite for MBB's participation in the ailing VFW group.

The linking of the solution of VFW problems and close cooperation and a common policy of Europe's aviation industries can at present be influenced neither by MBB nor by Bonn.

According to MBB circles, the Dutch VFW partners insist on an equitable participation in case of a takeover of VFW by MBB.

Herr Langfelder also said Boeing was planning to withdraw from MBB to be unencumbered in future competition with the Munich company.

He assumes that by mid-1978 a cohesive industrial bloc will have an equity in MBB. It will probably consist of MTU, Bosch and the Allianz insurance group.

In the business year 1977, MBB is likely to show a turnover of DM1,750 million and profits after taxes of DM10 million — about the same as 1976.

Horst Fischer

(Die Welt, 21 March 1978)

■ SHIPPING

Hamburg conference rewrites sea freight rules after 54 years

Will shipping companies soon be required by international law to pay compensation for loss of or damage to freight at sea? This and other highly controversial subjects are under discussion at the United Nations sea freight conference in Hamburg in an effort to reach an international agreement.

The Hamburg sea freight conference will be a "small contribution" to the international North-South dialogue says the conference president and leader of the Bonn delegation, Rolf Herber of the Ministry of Justice.

The purpose of the conference is simply to make international freight law more uniform. Since 1924, international freight movements have been covered by the so-called Hague Rules.

But 1924 was a long time ago. Then the major European shipping nations more or less made the rules to suit themselves, containers were unheard of, gold was the normal means of payment and most of the nations attending this conference were not even independent.

It would be wrong to speak of a genuine North-South dialogue at the conference because the interests of the states are not the usual ones. For once we find the USA on the side of the have-nots and the Russians, usually so vociferous in pressing the interests of developing countries, playing the same tune as capitalist countries such as Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

We also find Third World countries such as Liberia and Mexico breaking ranks. The reason for this volte-face is not hard to find: those countries with a heavy shipping trade are lined up against those who have to import and export under foreign flags.

At first sight, the question whether an exporter should be liable for the goods he is transporting while in transit seems simple enough. There is always an element of risk and airlines, railway companies and other transporters are liable for damage to freight in transit.

But according to the Hague rules now in force, shipping companies are only liable under certain circumstances — if, for example, goods are incorrectly loaded, if coffee and soap are stored next to one antother or perishable goods are not properly refrigerated. If a nautical, as opposed to a commercial, error occurs, if the ship collides, founders, catches fire, or breaks up, the ship owner cannot be held responsible.

The majority of Third World countries believe this is a flagrant injustice. As the leader of the British delegation in Hamburg, D. Dixit, put it: "The rules as they stand at the moment favour ship owners, while exporters and importers have to pay high transport insurances to protect themselves against loss or damage of freight."

Joseph Sweeney, leader of the US delegation, agrees with his British colleague's point of view: "Under the present rules, a ship owner is only responsible if his ship is unseaworthy and the crew were negligent in their handling of the freight, then the importer or exporter cannot sue the shipowner for the loss or damage of his goods."

No one denies that up to now ship owners have enjoyed incredible advantages here. And states at the conference with large shipbuilding industries are making every effort to ensure that their shipowners continue to enjoy them, even though a draft agreement has been worked out which, Hartmut von Brevern of the Association of German Shipowners complains, "reduces the rights of shipowners in almost all 25 points."

Herr von Brevern fears that increased liability for shipowners "would lead to an increase in freight rates of up to 3 per cent because the shipowners would be forced to pay higher insurance premiums."

Up to now, shipowners have insured themselves against commercial liability in Protection and Indemnity clubs, mutual insurance pools in which damages against any member are paid out he pool.

In other words, the more compensation paid, the higher premiums. Most of these insurance companies are in Great Britain. Attempts to establish them in other countries have failed because of the large amount of capital needed.

As they are not liable for nautical error, the shipowners have over the last 50 years taken out transport insurance which meant they immediately received compensation if freight was lost.

Those involved do not believe that this practice can now be abolished. The Association of German Shipowners says that importers and exporters will continue to take out transport insurance from the large number of these insurance companies in this country.

The reason is that shipowners make no secret that their P and I clubs would go to any expense to prevent clients from having to pay compensation and, on the other hand, because shipowners cannot afford to wait very long for their compensation.

Ralf Schneider of the Shipowners' Association says an increase in freight rates is inevitable because shipowners cannot afford to reduce transport insurances to keep pace with the rate at which their own premiums for insurance against compensation costs rise.

The Bonn Government goes along with its delegation's point of view. Delegation leader Herber does not conceal that Bonn would be happy if the old system were maintained, "and liability stayed as before, because the insurance practice is familiar and one cannot simply ignore the unanimous views of industry, particularly as the normal consumer is hardly affected."

However, two German attempts to maintain the status quo, one in New York and one in Hamburg, have failed. The Bonn delegation has therefore decided to vote with the majority because, in Heber's words, "one cannot look at an international agreement solely from one point of view. There are a number of other important new regulations which make the signing of this convention of vital importance to us."

At the beginning of 1978, the world merchant fleet consisted of 32,239 ships with a total of 364,77 BRT and a carrying capacity of 625,811 million tons. These figures include only ships of a total tonnage of more than 300 tons BRT. According to the Institute of Marine Trade, the growth of merchant fleets has slowed down, reflecting the overall recession in world trade. Last year there were 852 new merchant ships with additional carrying capacity of 38,836 million tons, an increase of 6.7 per cent. In previous years increases of 10 per cent were normal. There are 133 national merchant fleets in the world. The Federal Republic of Germany is eleventh in world rankings.

Among them, if liability for shipowners is increased, are:

- A liability limitation of DM6.50 per kilo of freight, calculated not on the outdated gold standard of the Hague Rules but on the Special Drawing Rights (One SPR-DM2.45) of the International Monetary Fund.
- New regulations on freight units and regulations of deck loading in container traffic.
- An extension of the period for which the shipowner is liable for the freight in transit.
- Clarification of legal procedures.
- An agreement that the new regulations will be valid in all cases and not only — as in the Hague regulations — when a freight consignement note is signed.
- A new agreement on documentation taking the now widespread use of computers into account.

Industrial lobbyists in Hamburg are still optimistic that they can dissuade the majority of states from increasing shipowners' liability, though it is difficult to see why. The assurances of moderate spokesmen for the industrial nations that they are not in dispute with the majority of Third World countries ring hollow. The Indian delegate stresses that the conference is a test case "for the willingness of the industrial notions to make a contribution to a new world economic order."

Monika M. Metzner

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 March 1978)

Labour forecast

Continued from page 7

tection, road construction and stepped-up development aid.

The latter is also necessary in order to improve our export chances. Due to progressive international division of labour, an above-average share of domestic demand will be met by imported goods.

To offset this retarding effect for our economy, exports would have to grow faster than the GNP.

The high foreign exchange surpluses of the Opec countries — up to now one of the major obstacles in boosting the world economy — will have shrunk to a mere DM10,000 million by the early 80s, and this will no longer have an adverse effect on the world economy.

In fact, populous oil-producing countries would have to accept balance of payments deficits to realise their ambitious industrialisation projects.

It is most improbable that oil prices will increase before 1985, says the forecast. Only thereafter will demand for oil outstrip production capacities.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 March 1978)

■ BOOKS

The incredible story of a man who owes his life to lies

DIE ZEIT

What struck me most forcibly about Valentin Senger soon after I met him was his honesty, his inexorable, persistent attempts to get at the truth, especially about himself. This utter honsty is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that he owes his life to lies.

Valentin Senger freely admits that even today he is often so nervous that he stammers and cannot get words out when interviewing people — even though he is a leading reporter for Hessian Radio.

Sometimes at conferences he wants to make an important point but the words just stick in his throat — and he is a man of nearly 60. For many years he did not dare to pronounce his real name or voice his real political opinions. He still suffers from the fear that no-one will believe what he has to say.

These inhibitions and complexes, this deep-seated fear which he so openly acknowledges today, are the result of continual dissimilation, constant self-camouflage and deception.

Valentin Senger is a Jew. He was born in Frankfurt in 1918. There, in a back house between the Opernplatz and the main police station, he survived the years of Nazi persecution in freedom. He even served for a time in the Wehrmacht.

Senger has now written the incredible story of how he and his family survived those years of terror. His story is so remarkable that he is worried that people simply will not believe it.

Senger's life is so full of unlikely, lifesaving coincidences and turns of events that it beats most works of fiction out of sight. But it is true.

The story begins with his parents, who were living in Russia at the time of the first Russian revolution in 1905. In Odessa, a young metal worker took part in strikes and demonstrations. After the revolution was crushed, his name was on the lists of wanted subversives: Moisse Rabisanovitch. He and his wife Olga went underground.

They slipped through the Ukraine and White Russia, reached Warsaw via Moscow and arrived in Berlin in March 1906. As soon as he arrived in Berlin, Rabinovitch began working for the Bolsheviks.

He was, so speak, a professional revolutionary. The year after that, he disappeared without trace. Not even his wife knew where he was. He was gone for two years. What was doing in this time? Working as an arms-runner, a bomber, a secret courier, a spy?

Rabinovitch never revealed the secret. When he returned, he spoke of stays in Switzerland and meetings with Lenin but he had now turned his back on the revolutionaries. In his pocket he had a forged passport which gave him a new identity with which to start a new life. The name on the passport was Jakob Senger.

Senger lived in perpetual fear of being exposed as former revolutionary. This made him watchful and over-cautious throughout his life. Before he moved to Frankfurt with his wife, for example, he registered and then de-registered in Zürich. His file in the Frankfurt Registration Office reads "moved from Zürich". He was covering his tracks, to prevent anyone from finding out about his past.

Olga Senger told the school authorities that her children, Valentin, Paula and Alex, were "of no religion" even though they were on the Frankfurt Registration Office file as "of the Mosaic religion". This was not a particularly effective protective measure in view of the upsurge of anti-Semitism in the 1920s.

However, the fact that they had started covering their tracks so early did help to save the Sengers' lives after the Nazi rise to power in 1933. But they would never have been able to do it without the help of many friends and strangers, who, voluntarily or involuntarily, became their abettors and accomplices.

First of all, there were the neighbours, who kept quiet. Once, when Valentin was playing with their children on the street, they pulled down his trousers and ran around the courtyard proclaiming their discovery: "Vali is a Jew! Vali is a Jew."

From then on he was out of the gang. That was before 1933. Afterwards, the same childish incident could have meant death for the Sengers, but no one remembered.

Then there was police sergeant Kaspar of the Fourth Police District. One day in the summer of 1933 he knocked on the door. He came into the hall and whispered conspiratorially with Frau Senger. He explained that he had been instructed to make lists of all the Jews in the district.

Fearing the consequences for those on the list, he had changed the description on the Sengers' police registration card from "mosaic" to "dissident". He warned the family never to describe themselves as Jewish again — otherwise he and they would be for it.

Then there were the girls. If Valentin's strict mother had had her way, he would have had nothing to do with them. Being a normal 20-year-old, he did not comply with his mother's wishes.

His first flame, Liz, was too inexperienced to notice anything — and when she make a passing remark about the "smell of the Jews" the relationship was over anyway.

With is other girls it was different. Mimi, with her freckles and her "intense eroticism"; the mysterious Ionka, to whom he made love only on the park bench (in wind, rain and "lights out"); and the prostitute Rosa from the nearby Vogelgesangsgasse who taught him a lot and, like a Scheherezade of the underworld, could have told more if she had not one day been arrested and taken away. All these women could have betrayed him and his whole family. But they kept quiet.

Then there was Doctor Hanf-Dressler, who was called in to examine Valentin when he had severe stomach pains. Valentin's mother thought up a story to explain away her son's circumcision which the doctor could not fail to notice when he carried out a thorough examination. Doctor Hanf-Dressler said: "Nonsense! Any doctor can see that this boy has been circumcised."

The family resigned itself to being transported to a concentration camp after the doctor had gone. But the Nazis did not come. The doctor's discretion? Years later, Valentin Senger found out that Dr. Hanf-Dressler was a leader of the Frankfurt *Reiter SA* and had sworn a solemn oath to fight all Jews and marxists so that the Aryan race would remain pure. But he too had kept silent and had even given shelter to Jews.

The boss of an iron and steel firm knew perfectly well that Valentin was a Jew, yet he still gave him a job as a draughtsman — in 1938, the year before the war.

First and last, there was Senger's mother, full of ideas and tricks, enormously active, the driving force behind the family. Her husband meantime had grown increasingly passive and resigned.

Frau Senger worked out an extremely complex fabric of lies to back up her *family's false identities.* When her son Valentin came back from his school lessons on race, it was Frau Senger who promptly started working out a family tree that would hoodwink the most scrupulous inquisitor.

She claimed that the family originated from the Don and the Volga. The family tree was to prove immensely valuable in the next 11 years.

The tree with its many branches certainly had the desired effect on Valentin's teacher. In the next lesson, the teacher explained how racial characteristics could be determined from the shape of the skull.

His measured Valentin's skull, noted down a series of figures and announced triumphantly to the class: "Senger — dinaric type with Eastern characteristics — pure Aryan through and through."

Yet there were so many things that could have betrayed them — so many little things that one hardly noticed or



The Senger family in 1927: Jakob, Alex, Paula, Valentin and Olga.



Valentin Senger: to deceive was to stay alive (Photos: privat)

realised, unpredictable reactions, inevitable risks. Then there were characteristics that simply could not be changed.

Senger's father, for instance, did not speak proper German. He spoke Yiddish and this could easily have proved fatal.

Herr Senger, who was unemployed, went along to the Jewish Welfare every day to queue for lunch. Once the police raided the place and Senger senior had to run for it. When he got home, he sent Alex back to get his lunch for him. In the circumstances this was sheer madness, and on police sergeant Kaspar's advice Herr Senger stopped this.

Young Valentin even tore up the Nazi leaflets the teacher distributed in front of the whole class, an act of brave individual resistance which could have meant his death. His mother did not approve: "Haven't we got enough trouble as it is without this?"

The Sengers also hid Jews and communists in their flat, an act of solidarity which could have been their death sentence.

The state of permanent fear they lived in reached its peak in 1944, when Valentin and Alex received letters instructing them to attend the muster for Goebbels' Army, which was to contain all foreigners living in Germany fit for military service.

These were dreadful days for the Senger family. But the doctors who examined Alex and Valentin trusted their forged papers more than their own eyesight. Valentin was trained as a gunner. Before he was sent to the Russian front, he managed to dessert. He was now not only a Jew but a deserter.

Not all the family lived to see the liberation in 1945. Valentin's mother, worn out by the pressures of the life of lies she was forced to lead, died of a heart attack. Valentin's brother Alex was killed in the last days of the war.

Valentin Senger describes those terrifying years in close detail but with amazing objectivity. He is committed, but he does not indulge in lamentations or self-pity. Thirty years' distance from the events and three years of psychotherapy have helped him shake off the anger, overcome his bitterness and hatred and even to try to understand what made his persecutors do what they did.

This is what makes this book so remarkable. No mention is made of Oranienburg or Auschwitz. Senger talks of the illustrious inhabitants of the Kaiserhofstrasse, the "only daughter of the Rothschild's head waiter" who lived opposite, and the heel-clicking Nazis who lived next door.

It is an authentic piece of history.

Continued on page 13

■ FILMS

Germany in Autumn: an act of worthwhile resistance

The film *Deutschland im Herbst* (Germany in Autumn) is unique in the history of the German cinema. It is an attempt by 11 filmmakers-directors and editors — to find out how and why the events of autumn 1977 changed this country.

The film opens with the words: "When cruelty has reached a certain point, it does not matter who has inflicted it — it has got to stop." They are flashed on to the screen at the end of the film again.

It is spring in Germany now, but the events of last autumn have made their mark. We still read about Hanns-Martin Schleyer, of blunders in the hunt for his kidnappers, of anti-terror laws, of minimal and maximum measures every day. We hear and read about Moluccans in Holland, Palestinians in Israel and Red Brigades in Italy.

Deutschland im Herbst was produced without any of the usual subsidies or grants at a cost of DM500,000, and financied by the *Filmverlag der Autoren* (Authors' Film Publishers). The 11 filmmakers involved are all individualists but here, they have worked together to produce a film which responds to current social and political events.

The result of this joint effort is a number of scenes which have not been shown on television — which television cannot and will not show. Why can they not be shown on television? Because they would offend the principle of "balance."

The film is not balanced. It is not a formal and aesthetic continuum but a collage of disparate elements, contrasting styles and the idiosyncrasies of the various filmmakers involved.

It opens and ends with a funeral in Stuttgart. The beginning shows the funeral of Hanns-Martin Schleyer and at the end we see the funeral of Ensslin, Raspe and Baader.

In between there are fictitious scenes; Wolf Biermann reciting his poem *Mädchen in Stuttgart* (Girl in Stuttgart), documentary scenes of socialist resistance in the 1920s, among other things. The musical leitmotiv is provided by Josef Haydn's *Kaiser Hymne*, better known as the *Deutschland Lied* or the German national anthem.

The title is Germany in Autumn and not Autumn in Germany. The title is programmatic. The intention is to look at the state of democracy in Germany, yet also to capture the atmosphere and mood of Germany at the time.

Alf Brustelling, Hans Peter Cloos, Werner Fassbinder, Alexander Kluge, Maximiliane Mainka, Beate Mainka-Jellinghaus, Edgar Reitz, Katja Rupe, Volker Schlöndorff, Peter Schubert and Bernhard Sinkel were the 11 filmmakers. Some have dismissed them as "sympathisers." This is quite inaccurate. In this film, 11 prominent filmmakers reflect on the causes and effects of the unending spiral of violence and counter-violence.

The scenes articulate their shock and helplessness, solidarity and weakness. The elements of the film are not polemic, but the response is implied, sometimes too obviously.

We see pictures from a 1942 newsreel and hear the commentator explain: "Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, the hero of Africa, father of the present lord mayor of Stuttgart Manfred Rommel... Rommel was poisoned by the state in autumn 1944... there follows the state funeral... the memorial service, attended by his son." Two scenes later we see the funeral service for Hanns-Martin Schleyer in Stuttgart.

A few scenes were failures. For example the meeting between a pianist and a wounded man, written by the *Rote Rübe* (Red Beet) collective. It was intended as a parody of Hollywood film scenes but did not convince. The scene directed by Edgar Reitz and written by Peter Steinbach showing a couple stopped by border police at the German-French frontier was meant to be realistic but ended up as involuntary parody.

Both these sequences were heavily cut for the present cinema version. In the original, entered for this year's Berlin Film Festival, these scenes were shown in full, plus another Biermann song and an interview with Gudrun Ensslin's mother. These were cut from the present version.

Fassbinder and Schlöndorff both come close to the mark with their contributions. Fassbinder plays himself in a piece of total and merciless exhibitionism, presenting himself as a queer, boozy, fat, cocaine-sniffing freak, afflicted by depression, rage and despair as he hears the news of Schleyer's kidnapping, Mogadishu and the deaths in Stammheim.

Between these scenes he inserts a montage of discussions with his mother, who makes the following point on terrorism: "The best thing would be a really authoritarian ruler — good and nice and all for law and order." Schlöndorff's contribution — for which Heinrich Böll wrote the screenplay — shows a group of television producers and administrators discussing a TV version of Sophocles' Antigone. A young MP comments: "This refusal to bury, these rebellious women and this gloomy seer, a kind of ancient Greek intellectual, — the young people watching it are going to take it as a call for subversion."

Antigone as subversion: Volker Schlöndorff directs Franziska Walser (left) and Angela Winkler in a scene from his contribution to *Deutschland im Herbst.* Heinrich Böll wrote the screenplay for the sequence. (Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

The programme director decides: "It is simply too controversial." Antigone is not broadcast.

It is a frightening parody of how self-censorship works.

Deutschland im Herbst is an act of resistance, without self-censorship, against tendencies which lead to a climate in which denunciation and hysteria, depression and helplessness, humiliation and hypocrisy, threats and witch-hunts flourish.

It is not a great film, it has weaknesses and occasional moments of naivety. Yet it is well worth seeing for anyone interested in ensuring that life in this country stays worth living.

The feeling left at the end of the film is one of helplessness and resignation, despite the mildly optimistic note of Joan Baez's *Here's to you* from the film *Sacco and Vanzetti.*

The final picture showing the funeral of the three Stammheim prisoners, the crowd running the gauntlet through the police barriers and the cameras clicking lead one to think that this is perhaps the way to produce a generation of sympathisers, or worse.

The fact that there are millions of alcoholics in this country is, at least in part, attributable to the criminalisation of soft drug-taking.

We should not allow the same thing to happen to the right to freedom of expression.

Rolf Thissen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 March 1978)

When dreams of youth had to stop

Two new German films entered for the recent Berlin Film Festival and now in the cinemas deal in different ways with music, pubertal fantasies and dreams that come up against cold reality.

The confrontation leaves scars; the films are about how the protagonists come to terms with them. Both films go against certain current trends in the German cinema. Instead of being noble, high-minded and literary, they are loud, rumbustious and trivial — but they are not comedies for all that.

We hear Peter Kraus singing *Die Strasse der Sehnsucht* (The Street of Desire), a teeny hit from the early 60s, while the camera lingers on the doleful face of a man pushing 30, dreaming of the golden days of his puberty.

We see a 15-year-old schoolboy playing solo saxophone to Klaus Doldinger jazz arrangements, in a villa on the Hamburg Elbchaussee.

Walter Bockmayer and Rolf Bührmann from Cologne, brought up on super eights and veterans of the Rhineland underground scene, have directed their first film for the cinema: *Flammende Herzen* (Flaming Heart). It is the tale of the strange adventures of a Bavarian kiosk owner in New York.

Peter Huber (played by Peter Kern) is an uncomplicated fellow full of vague yearnings to see the wide world. He wins the trip of a lifetime to New York in a competition.

Soon we see him gaping at the skyscrapers of Manhattan. He comes across his dream princess, too, in the shape of a fading hooker and stripper called Carola (brilliantly played by Barbara Valentin). She saves him from suicide on the subway.

The two outsiders team up and go along to a New York October festival, where they are chosen as cornflower couple of the year and win an alpine cow as a prize. This is the crowning moment of their romance.

From then on it is downhill all the way. Peter has run out of cash and Carola gives up hope of transforming her fat, cuddly frog into a radiant prince. Peter and his alpine cow end up in a derelict district on East River; the street of desire turns out to be a grim cul-de-sac.

Throughout Peter Kern is as wide-eyed as a child. Bockmayer and Bührmann, certainly not intellectuals, see the story through his eyes: curious and naive, registering every detail of an alien world, succumbing to its lures and finally terrified when the fantastic journey does not end happily.

The scenes are full of bizarre comedy and directed with a refreshingly light touch, without artistic pretention. Here we have a Bavarian Parsifal in New York, fighting for his utopia, his fairy-tale world.

There are violent contrast, such as the hole in which Carola makes her first appearance, which could be straight out of Scorsese's *Mean Streets*, and intoxicating moments of happiness such as the balloon ride over Manhattan.

The dreams of a belated teenager trying desperately to grow up collide rudely with hostile reality. Not that there is any trace of sentimentality in this film, which is far too bold and imaginative. The scene showing Peter, a typical Bavarian in *Lederhosen*, wandering through Manhattan with a cow at his side in the early morning is truly unforgettable.

The fantasies of the 15-year-old Hamburg grammar school boy in Hark Bohm's new film *Moritz, Lieber Moritz* are far more brutal, nasty and depressing in comparison. Not since Peter Zadek's 1968 film *Ich bin ein Elefant, Madame*, has there been a film which has dealt in such detail with the problems of schoolboys.

Zadek's film is heavily influenced by Godard's fragmentary, essayistic style. Bohm is trying to reach and audience that has never heard of Godard, whose cinematic sophistication does not go beyond westerns and karate films. His directing style is boisterous and utterly unsubtle. The camerawork is hectic and seems to be striving for the effects of advertising films.

Moritz grows up in a sheltered environment but, like the hero of *Flammende Herzen*, is suddenly confronted with a reality which is too much for him: his sick grandmother wants him to help her commit suicide, an attractive aunt makes sexual advances to him (this superfluous scene will be good for the box office), there is the intense pressure at school and the sight of death on the roads.

All this is too much for Moritz. He escapes into sensual dreams of violence. He slits his maths teacher's tongue in half and puts bees into his intestines; he sets a cat on his nagging mother. These shocking pictures are strong stuff, deli-

Continued on page 14

■ RESEARCH

Eight-year kindergarten study points to reforms

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

The results of an eight-year experiment in a model kindergarten set up to explore alternatives to existing pre-school education theories have now been published.

Towards the end of the sixties, even five-year-olds were drawn into the vortex of educational reforms.

Was the good old kindergarten still of use to those soon to enter elementary school and become familiar with scientific work in the broad sense?

Were the well-meant proposals of Fröbel and his successors still valid when it was believed that early and purpose-oriented learning would provide a head start?

The discussion about the kindergarten and its possible alternatives was rife as reforms were hastened. Parents were soon to become irritated by the plethora of conflicting theories.

In this situation, government and Church authorities in Baden-Württemberg decided to establish a model kindergarten to explore alternatives. The results are published in the latest volume of the series Education from New Vantagepoints of the Baden-Württemberg Education Ministry, entitled The Freiburg Model Kindergarten 1968—1976.

Baden-Württemberg's Minister of Education says in his preface that he accepted the demand for pre-school exercises in 1968 as an unprecedented challenge to the German kindergarten.

The planning group appointed by the Education Ministry had three objectives: the kindergarten was to develop a model of educational work useful beyond the confines of Freiburg; the three to six-year-olds were to be taught in a way that would promote their language and attitudes within a group; finally, possibilities for furthering the abilities of five to six-year-olds were to be explored.

In their guidelines, the planners made it clear that they were interested in the personal development of the children, the priority of play and purpose-oriented help for children at a disadvantage or who showed abnormal behaviour.

The educational theses of 1970 say: "The model kindergarten does not want to be a pre-school class. The planning group is intent on guiding the children towards school outside the family environment, offering them certain educational subjects that are part and parcel of school but without traditional school methods — and that without reintroducing kindergarten methods that had successfully been eliminated."

The abolishment of the pre-school euphoria of the era was, finally, the result of alternative educational values.

"We wanted to make the present happiness of children possible and future happiness probable. This was to serve as criterion of permission and denial," writes the educationalist Hans Herbert Deissler. "We hoped that this would promote intelligent scope of action and that the children would learn to articulate their needs and desires. We encouraged them to contemplate the scope and limits of realising them." The experiment required thorough organisation. This included constant discussion between kindergarten teachers and educationalists involved in the project. It also included close cooperation with the parents, which showed how widely expectations of kindergarten varied.


The joy of learning: a teacher takes a kindergarten class through a rythmic lesson. (Photo: Craemer)

Apart from information on the principles of kindergarten work and child rearing within the family, some parents called for discussion evenings on their own children in order to pinpoint general problems through an individual.

Other parents rejected such discussions, preferring person-to-person talks.

The conflict between kindergarten and elementary school remains unresolved. The experiment showed that kindergarten reform must remain incomplete without reforms of the elementary school system.

"The educational objective," the chapter on schools says, "ranks below the objective of conveying information under conditions of constant performance control and of evaluating performance with a sliding scale of grades."

The Freiburg report includes a number of concrete project descriptions, indicating future directions.

"We found that between 20 and 25 per cent of the children showed signs of abnormal behaviour," says Alexander Sagi, a child psychologist.

This is termed a representative cross-section, indicating where the future tasks and priorities of the Freiburg experiment should lie.

Klaus-U. Ebmeyer

(Deutsche Zeitung, 24 March 1978)

Plea for aid to families of mentally handicapped

In families with mentally handicapped children the burden usually rests on the mothers, who rarely receive the necessary support, according to a study by educationalist Angelika Thannhäuser.

The study involved 82 mothers of mentally handicapped children in a medium-sized city in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The child's dependence usually develops into a very close mother-child relationship which remains as the handicapped person grows oder.

The handicapped continue to live within the family as "adult children." They receive little or no money, may not go out in the evening and live under the total tutelage of the parents.

The handicapped people studied worked in a workshop of the Life Assistance Association. Some commuted to work from rural communities and were relatively slightly handicapped. Their mothers had found them a place in the workshop.

Due to the need for care, handicapped people attracted a great deal of attention from their mothers.

Resignation and a defensive attitude on the part of the siblings (who got too little attention) and the husband (who felt neglected) drove mother and handicapped child into isolation and formed increasingly close ties between them which eventually could not be severed and prevented the handicapped person from becoming independent.

"The process of severing parental ties is aggravated by the slow development of the mentally handicapped and by the limitation imposed by his disability, says Frau Thannhäuser.

Siblings grow up, leave the parental home and start a family. The role of the handicapped remains static, he himself remains a child and emotionally consoles the mother who has been left by her other children.

"It therefore frequently happens that the little one about whom the mother tells such touching stories turns out to be 35."

The report, "On the situation of mentally handicapped adults as seen from their mothers' vantage point" (published by Hans Huber, Berne, Stuttgart, Vienna), says the financial position of the interviewed families was relatively poor. The housekeeping budget was considerably below average.

Only 15 of the 82 mothers had jobs (full or part-time) usually as factory workers, chars and newspaper deliverers.

Since the handicapped children could not contribute towards family finances, the standard of living suffered even more.

Most mothers knew nothing about the possibility of receiving welfare assistance.

It is therefore not surprising that the money the handicapped earned in the workshop (between 50 and 250 deutschmarks a month, less DM40 for food) was usually kept by the families.

About two-thirds of the handicapped had no contact with others of their own age group outside the workshop. The contacts there assumed the character of children's frienships. Seventy-one of the 82 mothers rejected sexual relations or marriage for their children. One mother said that she hid illustrated magazines that had anything to do with sex so that her 36-year old son should not see them.

Contacts between handicapped and non-handicapped were extremely rare. They were reported by only two mothers.

Moreover, such contacts only took place in an organised way, as for instance when the Red Cross arranged some entertainment. The isolation of the handicapped remained unchanged.

For both mothers and handicapped, the vacation organised by the workshop, when the children were away from home for up to three weeks was very important. In many instances it marked the first separation of mother and child.

Frau Thannhäuser raises the question as to the extent to which mothers support the mother fixation of their handicapped children, thus promoting their isolation.

Seventy of the handicapped, all over 15 and mostly considerably over, were not permitted to go out in the evening without their parents — not even accompanied by siblings — to see a movie or visit a pub.

Only 12 were permitted to go out in the evening, alone or in company. Ten had to be home by 11 pm and only two could do as they pleased.

The study also shows the attitudes of mothers towards their handicapped children are at best ambiguous, despite the care given. They are ashamed of the child and consider him an insupportable blow dealt by fate.

Nineteen of the 82 mothers considered it better for a mentally handicapped child to die in infancy — but all accepted their own. All could name one handicapped person so badly off that it would be a relief for him if he died.

Many mothers consoled themselves that other children had worse handicaps and that they should therefore not complain.

Angelika Thannhäuser concludes that the measures in support of families with mentally handicapped children are inadequate. Improvements are particularly necessary in information and educational counselling for the parents, as well as over financial assistance.

To strengthen the self-confidence of handicapped people and to improve their position within the family, they should receive adequate compensation for activity in the workshop.

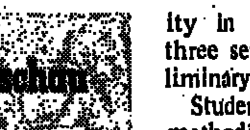
"It is hard to understand that families who have taken upon themselves the burden of keeping a handicapped child at home and who promote their child's development to the best of their ability, thus incurring intolerable additional costs, should be financially penalised to boot," writes Angelika Thannhäuser.

Doris Gothe

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 March 1978)

■ EDUCATION

Storm threatens over proposals to reform study of economics



The general assembly of the Science Council will shortly have to deal with a controversial programme for the reform of the study of economics at German universities and institutes of higher education.

The need for reform has long been recognised but there is little unanimity among lecturers, students, university administrators and politicians as to what form it should take.

The reform proposals are likely to raise a storm although the working party which produced them contained representatives of all the groups involved.

At a recent meeting of the Hesse branch of the German Science Council in Hesse, Bonn economist Professor Horst Albach, a member of the working party, explained the principles behind the new proposals.

Along with Professor Hans-Jürgen Krupp, chancellor of Frankfurt University, Albach is considered as part of the SPD-wing of the group. The main reform proposal is that economics students should have the opportunity to take final examinations of three different levels of difficulty.

The first level will be reduced from eight to six semesters (there are two semesters per year). The theoretical content will be considerably reduced, with more emphasis on practical work.

In the past, students with degrees in economics and management had a virtual guarantee of leading positions in industry or administration.

This was because the demand for economics and social science graduates was for a long time greater than the supply.

This trend has now been dramatically reversed. In 1965 there were only 7646 students starting courses in social sciences at German universities. By 1975 this figure was 20,304 and by 1985 present estimates are that there will be 34,000 studying these subjects at German universities and institutes of higher education.

The problem is that the universities have not made any course changes to cater for this dramatic rise in numbers.

The fact is that thousands of qualified managers and administrators are produced every year although everyone knows there are not enough managerial and adminstrative posts to go around.

In other words, economics courses do not take account of the needs of the market. They are over-producing economics graduates.

A large number of young graduates could be absorbed into industry and administration if courses were shorter and concentrated on training people to do the kind of super-clerical sub-managerial work which, by present reckoning, most graduates will have to do in future.

This is inevitable when we consider that in future 27 per cent of school-leavers will pass the *Abitur* (university entrance qualification) as against a mere 6,2 per cent in 1952.

To solve the employment problems which result from this, Albach believes we will have to give economists and social scientists a broad basis of basic knowledge plus different specialisations.

Albach argues that this can be achieved by study options with standardised course elements put together according to the students' interests and aptitudes. The future social science student will have to decide on his future job before he starts his course and choose his courses accordingly.

This standardisation (although there will be a wide range of choices) means the pronounced differences between courses at various universities will disappear.

The aim is to achieve greater uniformity in the basic course, which lasts three semesters and ends with the preliminary examinations.

Students should primarily acquire methodical skills in this part — in mathematics and statistics, law and institutions.

The next part of the course lasts three semesters. Here the student chooses specialised courses according to his future profession, in the case of managers there are ten options.

For example, a student intending to work in marketing would study the economics of marketing and marketing techniques and, in macro-economics, the problem of managing the economy. This six semester course would lead to a first degree qualifying the student as a salesman or managers.

The reformers believe most social science students would leave university after getting this qualification and take up posts in managment or administration. Forty per cent would go on to a deeper study of their subjects and take diplomas after another four semesters. There would then be a four semester course leading to a Ph.D.

The reform group believes that if its proposals are implemented future generations of social science students will have to show far more initiative.

Professor Albach stresses that the basic course would mean far more private study. The present system gives students all kinds of help in the shape of tutorials and mock examinations. This, he says, means students are spoonfed and doubts about the scientific standing of such graduates are justified.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 March 1978)

Life of lies

Continued from page 10

very clear vivid and full of sly humour. It tells us more about everyday life in the Third Reich than a whole pile of history books.

What the book does not go into is Senger's career after the war. He became a journalist, wrote radio plays and worked as political correspondent for left-wing papers in Austria and Italy. Later he worked for the East Berlin Press Office.

He was an active member of the KPD (The German Communist Party) until it was banned in 1956. He had escaped, as a Jew, from the Nazis. Now he was a pariah as a communist. He had to write his articles under a pseudonym.

In 1959, he turned his back on the East German communists and their goals. He applied for German citizenship. Valentin Senger, who had been born in Germany, had always lived in Germany and had been persecuted by Germans, did not even have the right to call himself a German.

The legal action lasted four years. He and his children were denied German citizenship on the grounds of his political past — the communist affiliations he had by then turned his back on. In 1965 a new law meant that his children at least could become German citizens without lengthy legal proceedings.

At the beginning of the 70s, the authorities informed him that the chances of his application being dealt with favourably were now much better. Valentin Senger did not feel like pursuing the matter. "I was too tired to go through the whole thing all over again."

Senger still lives in Frankfurt. He is stateless.

Wolfgang Nagel

(Die Zeit, 17 March 1978)

Kaiserhofstrasse 12, by Valentin Senger, Luchterhand Verlag, Darmstadt, 304 pages, DM32.

Multinational businesses course boost student work chances

Economists specialising in multinational businesses are a notable exception to the rule that economics graduates, along with those from other disciplines, are having increasing difficulty finding jobs.

The course is only offered by the university of Giessen at the moment. In the past graduates in this special field have had a clear advantage over other economics graduates when it comes to finding employment.

In the past few years the demand for multinational economists has increased as rapidly as the number of international investments and multinational concerns.

The volume of German investment abroad has increased fivefold in the past decade, for example. In autumn 1977 it totalled DM50,000 million — the first time German investments abroad have equalled the total of foreign investments in this country.

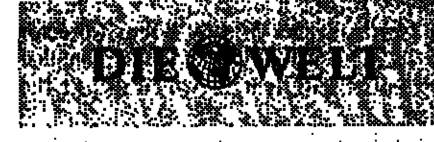
This development has led to organisational and managerial problems which Giessen's special option, International Businesses, takes account of. Professor Ehrenfried Pausenberger, professor of the subject, says the option is a great advantage for all who take it. In the decisions and analyses of international concerns, political and world economic factors have to be taken into account.

The main emphasis of the course is on the analysis of conditions, structures and strategies of international concerns and a critical assessment of their effects.

In lectures and tutorials the extent and motives for internationalisation, efficient forms of organisation, advantages and disadvantages of various forms of buying, production, marketing, finance and personnel management are dealt with.

There is special emphasis on calculation and information systems in international concerns. Experienced managers and industrialists are invited to lecture. A course on "English in economics" has recently been introduced, underlining the practical orientation of the course.

Graduates with this option behind them have exceptionally good prospects when they start their professional careers. As there are no comparable



courses at other universities, they "sell like hot cakes", says Prof. Pausenberger.

He says companies are desperately in need of economists who can go into international concerns. The students' response to the course has been highly positive and there is fierce competition to get on to it.

Although the subject is new to West Germany, in the USA the increasing internationalisation of business has led to the introduction of hundreds of international business courses. There are over 600 professorships of International Business.

Hans Georg Burger

(Die Welt, 22 March 1978)

■ SECURITY

Jurisdiction areas arrest the rise of super police

The Interpol agent who breaks up a heroin ring in Amsterdam today, has a shoot-out with the Mafia in Rome tomorrow and captures a ship smuggling arms in the Gulf of Mexico the next day does not exist.

And in the Federal Republic of Germany there are no super cops with carte blanche to hunt criminals between the Baltic and the Bavarian Alps.

On the contrary, they are hamstrung by numerous laws, regulations, chains of command and data systems, precluding any James Bond ideas in this country's police force.

Interpol has frequently been misunderstood as a mysterious special squad, although it is no more than a treaty between 126 states, designed to obviate going through diplomatic channels to exchange information.

A mere 170 officers work at the Interpol secretariat-general in France, collecting and evaluating information.

The German correspondent in the Interpol network is the *Bundeskriminalamt*, BKA, (Federal CID) in Wiesbaden. Its authority and tasks are much more complicated than generally assumed.

The BKA's 2,545 members occupy themselves with scientific and technical examinations such as fingerprints, ballistics, graphology and the collection and evaluation of data in connection with wanted persons.

Only in certain cases does the BKA legislation of 1973 permit the staff to do field work. These include internationally organised smuggling of arms and drug traffic as well as the fight against terrorism.

The BKA can also act on request of authorities of the federal states, the Bonn Minister of the Interior, the *Generalbundesanwalt*, GBA, (the chief federal prosecutor) or a magistrate acting on his behalf.

The constitutionally guaranteed jurisdiction of the federal states over the police makes it impossible for the BKA to be a super police force.

This federalism also hampers the uniform work of the individual state CIDs, endowed with widely varying powers.

There are state CIDs with considerable latitude, others with very little scope and mixtures of the two, as in Northrhine-Westphalia where the CID has a somewhat restricted authority.

On request of a state Minister of the Interior, a court of a public prosecutor, special squads *(Sokos)* can be formed for tracking down criminals. But, as in the BKA, the main tasks remain scientific and technical.

But the chief burden in combating general crime rests with neither Interpol, the BKA nor the state CIDs but with local police stations and their 100,518 uniformed and 19,327 plainclothes officers.

An old police saying says that a cop must know one thing if he is to have a full wallet and an uncluttered desk: the regulations governing the chain of command.

This tenet, propounded by an experienced CID chief, is borne out in practice: apart from the complicated channels between BKA, the state CIDs, the federal and state interior ministries, government officials and police presidents, the officer must also be familiar with the distribution of tasks and authorities between *Mobiles Einsatzkommando*, MEK, (mobile action squad), *Sonderkommission*, Soko, (special squad), *Präzisionsschützenkommando*, PSK, (sharpshooter squad), *Bundesgrenzschutz*, BSG, (Federal Border Police) and its famous GSG9 (special anti-terrorism unit), *Bereitschaftspolizei*, BePo, (energency police, *Wasserschutzpolizei*, WSP, (waterways police), etc.

Equally donfusing for laymen and many policemen are the organisation and terminology of the police data bank system, including *Inpol, Bipol, Dispol, Pios* and *Spudok*. And once these acronyms have been learned the actual problems begin.

The various electronic data processing installations in Bonn and the federal states are not only of different make but are also differently programmed. One criticism, for instance, is that the BKA has direct terminal links with the states of Baden-Württemberg, Bremen and the Saar, while the other state CIDs have eight entirely different data processing installations.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 23 March 1978)



Wuppertal police now have their own television programme — but it only carries traffic news. This monitoring room, the third in Northrhine-Westphalia, keeps a traffic control officer in touch with trouble spots all over the city by means of swivelling street cameras. He is in constant contact with police cars to direct them to traffic build-ups. (Photo: dpa)

Continued from page 11

berately repulsive but they do reflect the schoolboy's psyche authentically. (Despite a plea by education professor Hartmut von Hentig, the censor passed this film only for those aged 16 andabove).

The work is dubious all the same. Despite its vitality, Hark Bohm's violent attempt to reach a wider public is full of serious defects. *Flammende Herzen* with its daring constellations and imaginative images retains a utopian dimension, but in *Moritz, Lieber Moritz*, Bohm (director of *Nordsee ist Mordsee)* gets entangled in aesthetic difficulties which impair the film.

He is trying to produce a dynamic commercial film, a legitimate ambition but he overdoes it. To keep up our interest he serves up six different plots in rapid succession and his striving for shock is too crude. For example, Moritz keeps bumping into people, an attempt to underline how awkward and dreamy he is.

One thing to be said for it is that it is not cynical. Bohm believes in his story but does not have enough faith in his audience. We do not need to browbeaten as frequently as Bohm seems to believe.

Hans C. Blumenberg

(Die Zeit, 24 March 1978)

Bundestag puts the 'spooks' under control

On 16 March all three parties in the Bundestag with few abstentions passed the law on parliamentary control of the intelligence services, filling a legislative vacuum that has existed since their inception.

The initiative did not come from the Government but from parliament itself. The SPD and FDP were responsible for the first draft, put into its present form by a special work group of the domestic affairs and defence committees and the legal affairs committee on insistence of the CDU-CSU.

Bundestag member Karl Lidtke, speaking for the SPD, summed up the difficulties in bringing about the law despite the Opposition's refusal to cooperate in the old ombudsman committee.

"This makes it even more remarkable that, for the first time in the history of the Bundestag, we arrived at a joint law. This was anything but easy because, when faith among the parties in parliament is lost, mistrust gains the upper hand.

"Every word in a new law counts then and suspicion is rife that behind every word there is the attempt to undermine the law by those who are to be controlled by it.

"It is like rust in a car which eats its way from the inside to the outside. The whole thing was therefore extremely difficult and I emphasise that I am glad that we managed it jointly."

Mistrust has indeed dominated the discussion — general mistrust of the intelligence services, which operate in the dark and engage in impermissible actions, rejecting effective controls.

This mistrust resulted in the general desire, following the bugging of the nuclear physicist Klaus Traube, for a parliamentary control committee.

According to the first draft by the SPD and FDP, this committee was to be entitled to full information on all activities of the intelligence services.

The Federal Government was to bear the onus of informing the committee about the activities of the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*, BND, (Federal Intelligence Service), the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*, BfV, (Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution) and the *Militärischer Abschirmdienst*, MAD, (Counterintelligence Service).

This aroused the twofold mistrust of the Opposition. It feared that both the effectiveness of the intelligence services and the need of their staff members for protection would suffer.

The representatives of the intelligence services shared the Opposition's reservations. The CDU and CSU deemed the parliamentary responsibility of the Government undermined. They argued that, in practical terms, parliament would be entitled to directly interfere through the control committee snooping in the drawers of BND, BfV and MAD and obtaining information about intended or current actions.

This knowledge would make the members of the committee co-responsible.

The Opposition argued that the Government which, by the Constitution, is responsible for all actions of the executive branch, including the intelligence services, could hide behind the control committee — entitled to know everything — in case of blunders.

Resignations of Ministers (a rarity in Bonn anyway) would stop even over the gravest of intelligence scandals.

The responsibility of the Interior Ministry for the BfV, the Defence Ministry for MAD and the Chancellor for the BND would be turned into a farce by the law in its original form.

The CDU-CSU reservations were shared by legal experts. They are also still working on the tricky question of whether parliament can delegate its control authority to a committee not provided for in the Constitution.

In the present form of the law, it is ambiguously put that the control committee (its size remains open but should be eight members in accordance with an agreement between the parties: three each for CDU-CSU and the SPD and two for the FDP) must be informed by the Government. But the committee can no longer directly interfere in the intelligence services.

Some newspapers commented that the law was thus defused — and on the face of it this would seem to be so.

But, taken in its actual context, the law has been made more stringent because it puts a greater responsibility on the Government, the Ministers and the Chancellor, forcing them to take their control function more seriously. Only they possess the mechanisms needed.

It lies in the nature of the parliamentary system that the Government, rather than the officers of the intelligence services, must live in fear of the Bundestag.

During the debate, Interior Minister Werner Maihofer stressed the final responsibility of the Government while welcoming parliament's influence in the executive sphere.

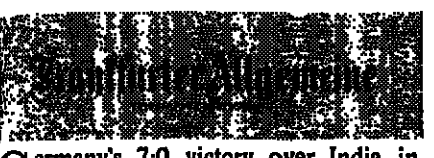
Maihofer seems to have been put on the alert by the Traube affair which almost cost him his post, but he has not learned from it.

Ludger Stein-Ruegenberg

(Deutsche Zeitung, 24 March 1978)

■ SPORT

Brilliant German hockey puts India in a trance



Germany's 7:0 victory over India in the world hockey championship in Buenos Aires on March 25 was a magnificent achievement against the reigning world hockey champions.

It was the German national side's fourth game in the tournament and, in retrospect, it looked as if their performances in the first three had been calculated to lull their opponents.

In the opening game they beat Canada 4-3. Then they beat Poland 9-4 after being 4-4 all at one stage, and in the third game they drew 3-3 all with Belgium.

Against India there was transformation. Yet the fact that such brilliant games cannot be repeated at will was more than underlined by our 0-0 draw with England in the next game, although there were optimists who saw the good side: "We kept a clean score sheet again."

The national team is now handily placed. It has 8 points out of a possible 10 and leads the table ahead of Australia (with 6 of 8) and India (6 out of 10). There is one more game to play in this group, against the Australians, who also have yet to play Canada. The chances of reaching the semi-finals are good.

The goalless draw on Easter Sunday meant that the brilliance of the victory overIndiaand experts' receded.

The 7-0 victory is a record in internationals against India. The Australians beat them 6-1 in Montreal and the Pakistanis beat them 6-0 in Karachi recently but 7-0 is unparalleled.

For Hugo Budinger, former German international and now national hockey administrator, the result was the achievement of a lifetime ambition.

"I have wanted to win as convincingly as this against India since 1952. I am not just talking about the result. We were tactically and technically better than the Indians and fitter."

They were about seven times better, so the result was a fair reflection of their superiority.

National trainer Klaus Kleiter, a teacher from Limburg on the Lahn, was worried after the game about the effect the result might have on his team.

"We showed what we could do, but you could say we scored five goals too many for our own good. You can't blame the lads for being over the moon but they have to keep their feet on the ground."

The players themselves reacted with a mixture of amazement and jubilation. Yet things had not started especially well for them.

Team captain Michael Peter missed a penalty. Eight minutes later, Hansi Montag had a similar chance to score an almost certain goal.

Only three of the team watched him take it, all the rest could not bear to look. Montag sent the Indian goalkeeper Dung Dung the wrong way the the first goal was in the net.

Then Wolfgang Strödter of Gladbach HTC scored two goals from short corners, bringing his goal total to ten, which makes him the leading scorer so far in this championship.

Important though goals from short corners are, the spectators prefer to see goals from team build ups or solo runs. Reiner Seifert from Rüsselsheim, Heiner Bopp (two) and Peter Trump, both from Frankenthal, then obliged. Each goal was more spectacular than the last.

The Indians took their defeat like men. They congratulated the German team like the gentlemen they are but seemed to be in a trance. The Radio India reporter summed up in one word: superb.

Brilliant performances are desperately difficult to analyse. There are some plausible reasons for result however.

The Indians were dramatically off form, whereas the Germans were well prepared psychologically and tactically. Kleiter had gone over tactics till late the previous night.

In their previous games, India had beaten Australia 2-0 and Germany had drawn 3-3 all with Belgium.

The Germans were alert from the start and marked India's dangerous wingers so tightly that they were forced to move into the centre, where there was no way through. The English team was bitterly disappointed at their 3-3 draw with Canada in the previous game after leading 3:0. The Germans were still ecstatic at the win over India. The result was deadlock. The game ended as it had begun: 0:0.

H.-J. Leyenberg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 March 1978)



Back on the blocks: Annegret Richter back in training after retiring for six months. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Olympic star Annegret Richter returns to get ready for Moscow medal

Annegret Richter, 27, gold medal winner over 100 metres at the Montreal Olympics, has changed her mind about retiring from international athletics after six months.

In January, Frau Richter competed in Australia and New Zealand. Her decision to resume athletics means this tour was not the end of a brilliant career but a further stage in her preparation for the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

Now Frau Richter is concentrating on the European championships in Prague in August. The final of the women's 100 metres is on August 30.

"I am in a better position than ever now to concentrate on athletics. My husband has got a job as an electrical engineer, which means that I can give up my job", she says.

Frau Richter, an employee of the city of Dortmund, began work as an athletics adviser to local schools last November. Her task was to find and bring along young sprinting talent.

She gave up the job on March 16. The city has not yet found a replacement and it is quite likely that they will not find one — the post was created for her.

Her local club did everything it could to persuade her to return (it had lost its best young stars Gaby Bussmann, Ursula Schalück and Karin Hanel to ASV Cologne). And Annegret had wanted 1977 to be the crowning point of her career but it turned out to be a flop.

Her ambition was to be the first woman to run the 100 metres in under 11 seconds, but Marlies Oelsner of the GDR beat her to it.

Then to cap it all she was plagued by illness which meant she could only compete in the relay in the world cup in Düsseldorf. She has now completely recovered from her troubles.

Financial considerations must also have played a part in her decision to start running again. She and her husband are buying a new house and they need every mark they can get.

Frau Richter has dropped the condition that she would only return to competitive athletics if the present men's sprinting team trainer, Wolfgang Thiele, was reinstated as women's trainer. Thiele said he was willing, but the German Athletics Association, having fired Jochen Spilker, has decided not to fill the position on the grounds that Herr Thiele would then have too much power.

Thiele has quite enough power as it is. He not only trains Frau Richter but also Elvira Possekel of Bonn, German 100 metres champion, and Annemarie Boller-Kroniger, who has returned to athletics after the birth of her child. This means the three athletes who won the silver medal for the German relay team in Montreal are together.

Only Inge Helten is missing. She had vowed to give up athletics completely but went back on this recently when she turned up at the Dortmund club.

All she got for her troubles was muscle cramp. She denies that she is thinking of making a comeback but many denials are meaningless these days.

Robert Hartmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 March 1978)

Lunge into school fencing turns up talent reservoir

Fencing courses were started in seven schools in Hanover a year ago and the experiment has been a phenomenal success.

Four hundred and fifty pupils turned up at the Federal Sport Centre for the first lesson in the basics given by fencing trainers.

Klaus Dieter Güse, vice president of the German Fencing Association, says hard training is essential in fencing and his association tried to introduce this in gymnastics and games.

They concentrated their search for talent on the ten-year-olds, as most world champions and Olympic gold medalists started fencing by this age at the latest.

The Hanover model has exceeded all expectations. Of the 450 who started, 150 are still there after a year. The preparatory year, in which the youngsters were allowed to use all the centre's amenities, is now over and the new fencers have all joined one of the three Hanover fencing clubs. Klaus Dieter Güse and his colleagues have had an equally good response from schools again this year. The centre is likely to be as full for the next course next year. Herr Güse says the purpose of the course is for the clubs in Hanover to get a steady supply of young fencers so that they can pick out those with the ability to go on to fence at national and international level. This scheme could mean that in a few years Hanover will be a major fencing centre. This experiment could well be introduced for other sports.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 March 1978)



Temporary truce: a young Hanover fencer gets some advice from her coach. (Photo: Udo Heuer)